DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 039 952 PS 003 340

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TITLE	Dependence and Competence in Four-Year-Old Boys as Related to Parental Treatment of the Child.
PUB DATE	[69]
NOTE	103p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$5.25
DESCRIPTORS	*Child Rearing, *Individual Development, Interaction, Observation, Parent Attitudes, *Parent Child Relationship, Parent Influence, *Personality Development, Preschool Children, Test Reliability

ABSTRACT

In this study 34 (17 dependent, 17 competent) 4-year-old boys were chosen from a group of 165 children observed in 11 nurseries. An episode sampling technique was used to study patterned interactions with children, teachers, and observers. Each of the boys was observed in interaction with his mother and father by three observers in a semi-structured laboratory setting. The parents were then interviewed while the child was again studied in laboratory interaction. Six judgments for dependence and competence were made for the child while the parents were assessed by multiple methods on four variables. Variables included three "types" of parental treatment (treats child as an adult, as an infant, or as a child), and three methods for assessing parental consistency. It was found that the parents of competent children treated the child as a child, rather than as an adult, to a greater extent than did the parents of dependent children. The prediction of a greater tendency by parents of dependent children to infantilize the child was not clearly supported. The parental consistency, as assessed by the discrepancy between global judgments for the parents' philosophy and natural tendencies, was supported indicating that the parents of dependent children were not doing (nature) what they thought they should (philosophy) to the extent the parents of competent children were. (Author/DR)

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DEPENDENCE AND COMPETENCE IN FOUR-YEAR-OLD BOYS AS RELATED TO PARENTAL TREATMENT OF THE CHILD

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I

Problems and Focus of the Study

The relationships among parental attitudes, interests, personality traits (and types), specific child-rearing practices and their effects upon the development of the child have long been of great interest and concern to parents, teachers and researchers. The relative dependence and independence of the child has been one of the more popular variables studied, because of its importance to the child's growth and development. Although some relationships among these parent and child variables have been demonstrated, few single parental variables have been significantly and consistently predictive of dependence in children.

The contributions of ~~this study~~ are derived from a reconceptualization of the problem and take root in the adoption of what might be referred to as a "pragmatic methodology." At least two features of the conceptualization are novel. The first is the analysis of traits as classifications or characterizations of observed phenomena, which is not to say that traits emanate from "dynamic underlying processes." The second distinctive conceptual feature of this study is the comparison of groups of dependent and competent (rather than independent) children.

The first novel methodological aspect of this study was the central focus upon direct naturalistic observational techniques wherever possible. These observational techniques were compared to paper and pencil instruments, and other non-observational techniques, not in an effort to "cross validate" the existence of the constructs, but to assess the relative merits of the methods as assessment tools. It was speculated that pure observational assessment of the children over as broad a context as possible might yield as nearly as possible known groups of dependent and competent children. The direct observation of the variables was a direct result of a conceptualization of "traits" (which departs somewhat from the traditional definitions for traits in psychological research discussed later).

A second methodologically distinct feature of this study was the assessment of the variables for the final data collection prior to obtainint "high" inter-judge reliability and without training the judges to employ identical or operationally defined concepts of these variables in making their judgments. The justification for the methods and procedures employed in the study was to be provided by the demonstration of predicted relationships based on a number of hypotheses rather than by "verifying" or "cross validating" the existence of the traits.

The final novel set of features for this study was the specific (major) hypotheses tested. These included postulating three types of parents referred to as Types I, II, and III corresponding respectively to treating the child as an adult, an infant, or as a child having characteristic needs, attitudes, traits, interests, abilities, desires (wants), etc. A second set of hypotheses concerned the inconsistencies between parents in terms of their natural tendencies (nature) to behave in a certain way, their perceptions of how they should behave (philosophy) and its effect upon the competence and/or dependence of the child.

II

Conceptual Analysis and Description of the Parental and Child-rearing Variables Studied

Child Variables

In this chapter the parental traits, attitudes, treatment of the child and the child-rearing practices in which they engage, which were believed by this investigator to be related to the development and perpetuation of the child's dependence and competence, will be described and analyzed. First, however, dependence and competence as trait and/or pathological classifications will be discussed.

Dependence--A Trait or Pathology Concept. The term "dependence" has myriad usages and connotative meanings. Some of these include statistical or stochastic dependence, dependent variables, dependent as a description for a specific behavior and dependence as a personality trait or disposition to behave in a dependent way across a variety of situations and contexts.

It is with the latter two usages of the term that this study was concerned, that is, with dependence as a type of behavior people engage in and with dependence as a trait characteristic of a person across time and situations. Some behaviors which are referred to as dependent behaviors might include: asking for information or help when it's not needed, seeking attention, recognition, notice, praise, approval, physical contact, affection, etc. We use dependency in the "trait" sense when referring to an individual who engages in any one of a number of these related behaviors (characteristically or more often than most). We might say that "John is a fairly dependent person," noting that he usually behaves in a dependent way. John would be said to have the trait of dependence.

At this point it is important to introduce the concept of pathology which Ossorio (1966) characterizes as a "significant arbitrary restriction upon one's ability to engage in intentional action." The individual would be classified as pathologically dependent if he engaged in dependent behaviors excessively (too much or too frequently) or inappropriately (at the wrong time or place). At certain times it is appropriate to be dependent. An example might be when one in fact needs help, say in lifting a very heavy weight. To refrain from seeking help under these circumstances might indicate pathological independence. Competence on the other hand would not ordinarily be considered pathological, no matter how much the person might have. The term "inappropriate" seems inappropriate when applied to competence although one might well speak of the inappropriate exercise of skills.

Probably the best starting point for the analysis of pathological or deviant human behavior is an analysis of the normal person, or in this case, the competent or independent person. In order to participate in adult society certain minimum skills are necessary. Competence is the standard for acceptable adult behavior. This does not mean that the individual must be self-sufficient or provide for his entire repertoire of needs. The concept of competence as an adult means simply that the individual be able to do enough of the right sorts of things in order to participate adequately in the prevailing social life. For example, if a member of society doesn't know numbers he will have trouble making change, buying a loaf of bread or other necessities at the grocery, locating addresses, dialing the telephone, etc. Being thus disabled, such an individual would be sufficiently restricted to be considered *pathologically incompetent*.

In considering competence in four-year-old boys the *adult standard* for competent performance is projected downward. Less is expected of the four-year-old by virtue of his limited physical and mental development. Nevertheless, there is a minimum range of skills or abilities which he is expected to have attained by age four in order to progress at the normal rate toward the goal of becoming an adult. It is, of course, possible for a child to make up for lost time in his development of these skills, but this ordinarily entails special treatment or attention by his parents and teachers or special efforts on his part.

Again we are *not* directing our attention to what is normal in the sense of average for a four-year-old, but rather with the *standard* for a four-year-old boy's performance in terms of his ability *to do enough of the right sorts of things*. In research we are often (as in this study) forced to employ normative criteria in the absence of research and knowledge of the way in which the adult standard is projected downward to the four-year-old boy. But we may expect that since most four-year-old boys grow up to be competent adults, we will not be grossly in error in accepting averages as estimates of standards.

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Within this framework the concept of *social dependence* becomes clearer. There are at least three types of social dependence: actual or appropriate dependence, retained dependence, and acquired dependence.

Actual or appropriate dependence refers to dependence in fact. The newborn infant is dependent (in fact) upon others to clothe and feed him and to attend to his myriad needs. Prenatally the infant is almost entirely dependent on another for the satisfaction of his needs (which are automatically fulfilled). The degree of dependence in fact decreases as an individual develops. The infant standard or norm is still one of near complete dependence. Infancy is the time when it is appropriate to seek and receive an almost unlimited amount of mother's affection, physical contact, physical presence, attention, recognition, approval and later praise, permission, information, and help.

These ten dependent behaviors can be roughly graded (in the order of listing above) from those requiring little or no skill to behaviors requiring a considerable amount of skill or ability, e.g., seeking information. That the relationships implicit in getting these needs satisfied (or in seeking these ten sorts of things) are necessary to the normal development of the infant and the child is suggested by studies on marasmus (Spitz, 1951) and autism (Eisenberg, 1958). Since most of these behaviors, which result in receiving something and require only elementary skills on the part of the infant, and are appropriate no matter how frequently sought or received, they are a good starting point in tracing the development of "retained," "acquired," "inappropriate," or "excessive dependence."

As the child grows and develops, the norm changes. The child is expected to do *more for himself* inasmuch as he is *capable* of doing more for himself, having gained new skills, muscle tone, coordination, etc. Now he doesn't need so much help and as a consequence some asking for help becomes not only unnecessary, but detrimental to his further development.

Inappropriate, *retained or acquired dependence* provide us with terms referring to dependence which is not necessary for every child. As children grow, and develop over time, some do not acquire the skills that their peers learn. Some retain the old dependency behaviors long after others have dropped them from their repertoire or have greatly reduced their frequency. Of the ten dependency behaviors those that are retained become less likely to be *appropriate* to any given situation with increasing age.

"Appropriateness" is a function of the social activity being engaged in, and so, appropriate behavior for any given child will in general depend on the child's competence with respect to the activity in question. To ask "what's trump" in a chess game is inappropriate for a chess player, and it is inappropriate *as* chess behavior, but we would not make too much of it if it came from someone who didn't know chess at all.

If the infant carries too much dependent behavior from infancy into childhood, those previously appropriate dependency behaviors become unsuitable according to the new norms or standards for those children. What was the *right sort of thing* becomes the *wrong sort of thing*. *Too* much is defined in terms of the norm (or standard) for that age. Even when we think the child literally can't do the age-appropriate things, we say, he ought to have learned, and we set about teaching him. If we are convinced he can't learn, we give him a special status, e.g., "mentally retarded" and adjust our demands and expectations accordingly.

If a person does enough of the right sorts of things (the ten things mentioned above constitute a "componential analysis") sufficiently inappropriately and/or excessively, he will qualify as "dependent." Some acts can be so inappropriate to the situation that only one instance might be called an instance of dependent behavior (e.g., the ten-year-old boy who cries to sit on his teacher's lap). Other relatively clearcut cases of dependent behavior would include: (1) the child who asks for help when he clearly (we have evidence) doesn't need it and is in no other respect subject to a temporary deficit state, mood, etc.; (2) the child who asks for information when he knows and remembers the answer; and (3) the child who asks for permission when he is aware that permission has explicitly been granted.

Determining when affection, attention, recognition, praise, and each of the other dependent behaviors are inappropriately sought is a genuine empirical question, but is not easily assessed (see Method below). Fortunately the conceptual situation is somewhat clearer.

Here, however, we must again employ the concept of the standard (or norm) for adult competence projected downward to the four-year-old boy. If very few children this age need so much affection, attention, etc., we can say that a child is excessively or inappropriately dependent upon others for the satisfaction of these relationship needs to the extent that he deviates from the norm or standard. If his attempts to achieve an independent status (or his reactions to failure to achieve this status) interfere with his normal activities to a sufficient degree, we can say that he is in a pathological state. Here need is used in the general sense of a condition which, if not met, results in a pathological state whereby the individual is significantly restricted in his ability to engage in intentional action, i.e., restricted in his ability to participate in existing social practices (Ossorio, 1966).

Independence and Competence. The second major concept of interest is independence. Like dependence, independence is a trait concept and a pathology concept. If independent behaviors are appropriate and significantly more frequent than usual, we can say that a person has a certain amount of the trait independence. But a person may be excessively and inappropriately independent, interfering with his efficient functioning to the point where we can say he is pathologically independent. Again, there is a norm or standard for independent behavior at any given age. A child of age four is expected to have a certain degree of independence in order to be able to develop those skills necessary to become a competent adult.

Independence in many ways is the converse of dependence. It can be characterized as initiating actions without suggestion and without help. Independence requires greater competence than dependence as it implies the ability or skill to do things on one's own, while dependence entails the presence of another. Independence can also be too much, or in the wrong way, a part of one's repertoire of behaviors. If a child never asks for help and always does things on his own, he may be restricted in the satisfaction of his relationship needs. Total social isolation (autism or catatonic schizophrenia) is indeed pathological to the extent that the basic psychological needs for interpersonal relationships are not fulfilled.

If the person is independent when dependence is the appropriate mode of behaving under the circumstances (e.g., lifting a 1,000 lb. weight), he is doing something which would be pathological if he did enough of it. But since "pathology" is a summarizing concept, not a continuous variable, a single such behavior would not be a little bit of pathology (Ossorio, 1966). This could be termed *inappropriate* (or possibly "retained" negative) *independence* and is characteristic of the individual who does things *because* they are independent actions. The *rebel* does things on his own, to be doing them on his own, for the sake of independence or because others say he should *not* do it. Here it is the *reason* for the action which is crucial.

The concept of independence implies (if it is not synonymous with) being *not dependent*. Indeed, in everyday language, independence does not always bear positively valued connotations in this culture. We often refer to individuals as being "too independent" implying he might function more effectively if he were not so independent. It is because independence can become *too much* that we have difficulty in (meaningfully, validly, and reliably) measuring this trait. It is difficult to ascertain how much is *too much*, especially if the researcher has not observed the subject over an extended period of time and in a wide range of circumstances. Because independence can be a valuable trait contributing to an individual's effectiveness and because independence can also be detrimental to his effective performance (if it becomes too much or pathological), researchers have had difficulty discovering meaningful, empirical relationships between dependence or competence in children and the parental variables studied. The problem is to isolate that point of optimal independence beyond which the individual is too independent and below which he is not independent enough for optimal effectiveness. Figure 1 may be of some value to the reader in communicating the present conceptualization of these relationships as well as the relationships between competence, incompetence, dependence and independence (see Figure 1).

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Figure 1 about here
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In view of the problems inherent in locating the optimum point for independence along a continuum of competence, there is some reason to regret the customary use of the concept as the contrasting term for dependence. In this study, the concept of competence is applied in place of independence. The major advantage in employing the concept of competence rather than independence is the fact that no amount of competence is "too much" or pathological as is the case with too much independence. We do not think of people as being too competent. In using the concept of competence we include all the positive aspects of independence with contribute to effectiveness and exclude the too much (pathological) aspect of independence. Thus competence cannot be properly considered as both a trait and a pathology (as are dependence and independence) but as only a trait. It is the trait of being able to do

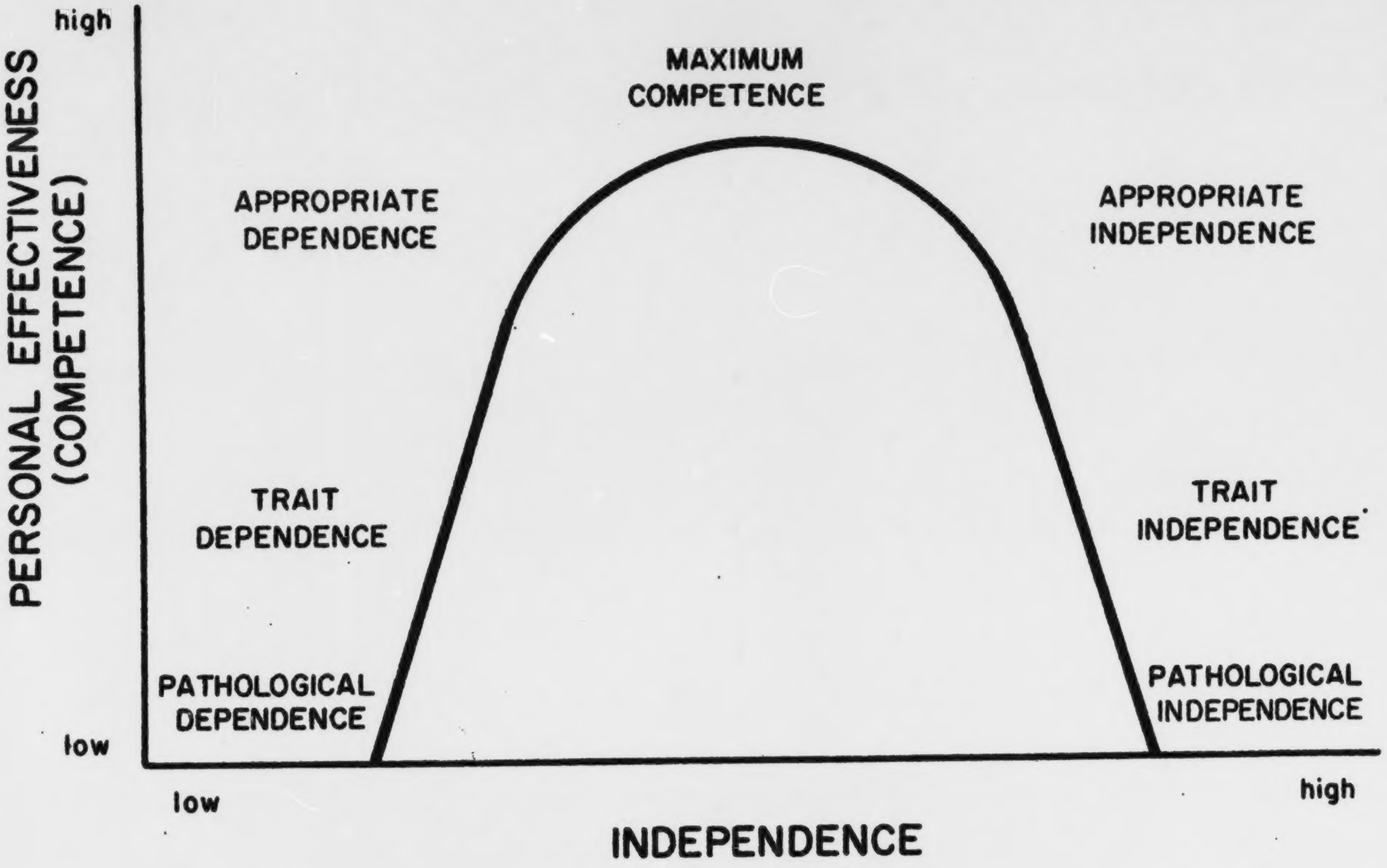
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Fig. 1. The conceptual relationships between independence, dependence and personal effectiveness or competence.

enough of the right sorts of things. The right sorts of things include, among other things, being appropriately dependent and appropriately independent but not "too much" of either in any particular situation.

The use of the concept of competence, rather than independence, is a fortunate one because it is _the standard_ to which all pathological cases and person traits can be conveniently compared. That is, the competent person, for example, at age 18 is _the standard_ to which we compare an 18-year-old (notwithstanding the fact that the _norm_ or average behavior is the closest approximation we have at present to the standard of behavior necessary for the continuation of the society _per se_).

Incompetent means not competent. It means being unable to do enough of the sorts of things competent people do. It is a distinctive concept in that it can hardly be a "trait" without being a "pathology," while competence is always a trait and never a pathology. To be incompetent is to be arbitrarily restricted in one's ability to engage in intentional actions requiring certain skills or abilities (see Ossorio, 1966, Chapter I). Being appropriately dependent is important in mediating a myriad of interpersonal relationships while incompetence has little apparent utility. Incompetence can be conceptualized as involving what has been defined as retained dependence in this paper. The incompetent individual has never obtained the requisite skills to be competent. The dependent individual can have developed the skill or ability but simply be unwilling or unable (at the moment) to exercise that skill. For example, the child who can tie his shoes but doesn't, because he wants help (or wants to be involved in a relationship with another) is dependent but not incompetent. The child who never learned to tie his shoes is incompetent to that extent.

Parental Variables

Having analyzed the focal child variables, a number of parental personality traits, attitudes and specific child-rearing practices which might contribute to the dependence and/or competence become apparent. Some of these parental variables might include warmth or hostility (coldness), permissiveness or restrictiveness, degree of punitiveness, rejection, the competence and/or dependence of the parent and essentially all the child rearing practices in which parents engage. Few of these variables have revealed a relationship to the dependence and competence of the child.

The fact that many investigations have failed to demonstrate relationships which we are nevertheless convinced must exist, suggests the need for a detailed examination of the ways we might expect those associations to be demonstrated. A starting point is to consider the ways those relationships have been demonstrated in social life. This is a "criterion problem."

It has been argued that "The 'groundfloor' of human cognition and behavior is not definition, not proof, and not inference machinery. It is, rather, the ability to recognize when something is so, and the ability to accomplish something. And the value of that is precisely whatever difference it makes" (Ossorio, 1966, p. 14). Ossorio goes on to state that "In general, the criteria for the application of person descriptions are not explicitly stateable. The sufficient condition for there being criteria, statable or not, is that there should be general agreement in judgments in individual cases and that another person should be able to learn to make correct judgments of that kind."

We may say, then, that *calling* a child dependent or competent is a way of identifying characteristics of that child. But it is a *particular* way of doing this. It is to say that what we have seen of him makes a certain *kind* of difference to *us*. The difference it makes is that we will *treat* him differently and expect different behavior from him. Conversely, our treating him as a dependent child rather than in some other way will make a difference to him. It will make a difference to a child whether his parents treat dependent behavior as "bad" and therefore to be punished, as against treating it as a nuisance which is a necessary phase in the child's life, as against taking it for granted, etc. We may expect that the difference it makes to the child will be closely related to the kind and degree of dependency he exhibits subsequently, and so we are led to conceptualize the general parental attitudes and types of treatment of dependency which would make this kind of difference.

If the foregoing is an adequate summary of the phenomenon, we would not expect it to be reflected in correlations among "objective" measures or any other "operationalizations" which do not consist, in one way or another, of the observational judgments of one person by another. Such correlations might be found, of course, but only to the extent that we succeeded in preserving the criterion phenomenon in the experimental design would we *expect* positive results. For example, in studying competent and dependent children, ideally we would observe a large number of children in a broad set of contexts or situations. If a child engages in a far greater number of dependent behaviors than the average, we would be inclined to call and treat him as a dependent child. The criteria for something being called dependent rather than competent (or anything else) are to be found in everyday life situations. If we can preserve enough of the context of real life situations in the laboratory or in paper and pencil instruments, we can make the same significant sorts of judgments or classifications of people by these techniques as we could from observing them in their daily life. To the extent that the laboratory observation or the paper and pencil tests do not provide enough of what we know about the child from observing him in his daily activities, we would be inclined to consider these contrived situations or instruments to have fallen short and to have failed to preserve, at least, the criterion phenomenon necessary to make such assessments with some degree of confidence.

The problem of obtaining known groups of children or parents possessing a given trait is related to this issue. It is against so-called known groups that we validate our paper and pencil instruments. If the paper and pencil tests do not relate to what we know about the child or parent from extensive observation, we would be inclined to doubt the instrument (and not the behavior we observed) and develop new items for the test until the scores derived from the test matched what we knew about the child or parent from our observation of him across many situations. Only at this point would we feel at all confident that our instruments had provided enough of the criterion phenomena to make such assessments.

From the earlier analysis of dependence and competence it is apparent that the parents' mode of treating (or interacting with) the child should be an important factor in the development (and perpetuation) of those child traits. It is therefore to the analysis of the possible types of parental treatment of the child that we now direct our attention.

Three Types of Parents. There are at least four logically different ways parents can treat dependent behavior. Parents can treat acquired dependence as actual dependence, and actual dependence as acquired dependence, or they can treat each of these forms of dependence as what they really are (actual or acquired). Parents fall into the four following categories in terms of the way they treat dependent behavior.

Type I. This parent treats *all* dependency (both actual and acquired) as *acquired* dependency.

Type II. This parent treats *all* dependency (both actual and acquired) as *actual* dependency.

Type III. This parent treats actual dependency as actual and acquired dependency as acquired.

Type IV. This parent treats actual dependency as acquired and acquired dependency as actual (but this style is so unusual and unrepresentative of any parents observed that it will therefore not be discussed further).

Type I Parent (*Treating the Child as an Adult*) endeavors to make the child grow up and behave as an adult before the child has developed sufficient skills to perform the behavior required of him. The parent tries to accomplish independence training at the earliest possible age.

Consequently the child is faced with many demands which he or she cannot fulfill. This guarantees that his or her early life will become a series of failure experiences. This child having failed so often must wonder whether he will ever be able to do anything quite the way Dad and Mom want it or as well as big brother does it. Not feeling secure in his ability to effect the parentally prescribed ends he might be expected to retreat from trying and/or seek help and assistance when it isn't really needed. An especially subtle aspect of the withdrawal process is that it often becomes an end point for the child's response series. That is, children who withdraw from unfriendly situations do not always appear to seek help, reassurance, etc., and sometimes withdraw totally from interpersonal interactions. In a later study it is proposed to examine this issue in greater detail. Suffice it to say at this point, it is this writer's feeling that children (as with Harlow's (1960) monkeys) upon first retreating from the frightening outside environment do seek reassurance as a natural course. It could be that, only when they are unable to get the reassurance from any of the possible sources, they give up trying, withdraw from people and in the extreme case retreat into a world of their own similar to what we observe in the autistic or catatonic schizophrenic child. However the evidence for this speculation is wanting.

In summary, Parent Type I is characterized by his readiness to push the child to the earliest possible independence and adult type autonomy. This parent is uniquely out of touch with this particular child's need, interests, knowledge, skills, etc., and pushes the child "in over his head." Treating the child as an adult is excessive by definition as it is not treating the child as the child he is (in this case, a child, age four, with certain abilities, skills, needs, interests, and attitudes).

Type II Parent (Treating the Child as an Infant) believes (for whatever reasons) that his or her child can tolerate (and should be allowed) very little freedom to explore or to try things on his or her own. This child has little opportunity to learn the skills other children learn. Not having been given the chance to learn the skills, easily accomplished by children his age, this child needs help. This parent would also appear to be lacking in the understanding of (or interest in) this child, sufficient to allow the development of the necessary skills and motivations to compete and play with other children. This parent guarantees that the child will be rejected at least in part by other children and that he will be forced to depend upon his mother for help, attention and affection (love).

The Type II parent treats the child as an infant incapable of doing or trying to do things children his age are able to do and for which the parent has little or no reason to believe the child cannot do. This parent is insensitive to the child's needs, abilities, interests, and so forth.

Type II parents try to get the child to be dependent upon them, possibly, because they want or need love themselves. These parents are trying to get love which they want (and possibly need) in the only way they know how, that is, to foster dependency of their children upon them. Animals and pets often fulfill this love object role or function for other individuals with this same need to love and be loved. To allow the animal or child freedom to become an independent entity or individual threatens this nurturant, succorant, symbiotic relationship purposefully established by the parent. As a natural consequence these parents thwart any efforts by the child in this direction.

In summary, Type II parental practices involve trying to decrease independence and to increase dependency by trying to get rid (by whatever means work and are available) of independence.

Type III Parent (Treating the Child as a Child) neither exerts early pressures toward adult independent behavior upon the child nor pressures toward infantilization of the child. This parent is uniquely sensitive to the needs, abilities (skills), wants, knowledge, reasons, and interests of the child. This parent's behavior is oriented toward the development of the potential of the child as a free and independent individual. This parent appears to have few if any needs to use the child in the achievement of any of his or her personal needs or wants.

The Type III parent is able to discriminate dependency in fact (actual dependency) from acquired (or retained) dependency and to treat them differently. It is possible that the apparent lack of discrimination in Type I and II parents on the one hand, and the discriminatory skills of Type III parents on the other could be a critical difference. Type I parents may generalize about all their children, saying in effect, "they should all be able to do more for themselves," without consideration for their particular infirmities and lack of skill. This attitude is usually directed to children in general although it could be unique to the particular child or to a subset of children (e.g., boys should do more for themselves than girls). Type II parents similarly manifest an attitude (if to a particular child) or trait (if to children in general) that children are unable in general to help themselves.

It is possible that Types I and II parental practices are "self centered" (centered on themselves) while the Type III parent is "other centered" or able to focus on the child, his needs, attitudes, interests, and abilities, having his (the parent's) own needs fairly well under control.

Correlated with the parent's intention to engage in Type III practices for child rearing is his personality propensity to give the child love, security, order, meaning, self actualization, etc. It may be that only the self actualized parent can engage in Type III child-rearing practices. By the same token it may be that Type I and II practices come from very self centered, unactualized (dependent?) parents and that Type III practicing parents are not dependent persons themselves. If this is the case the Bandura and Walters (1959) modeling hypothesis might account for the child's dependence or incompetence. However, this is an empirical question which must be tested.

Consistency of Parental Treatment of the Child. Today upwardly mobile parents living in middle class circumstances are often induced to adopt permissive orientations to child-rearing for a variety of reasons. The influence of Dr. Benjamin Spock (1963), supplemented by more sophisticated studies by the late Arnold Gasell (1959) and other developmental psychologists, upon the parent's propensity to adopt permissive vs. restrictive child-rearing practices, has been profound. Many parents who themselves have been raised under rigidly authoritarian restrictive environments are confronted by societal pressures to be permissive in their handling of their own children. These parents often succumb to these forces. The result is that the parent finds himself or herself having adopted a permissive "philosophy" of child rearing which is in basic conflict with his or her "natural" inclinations to treat his child as his father and/or mother treated him, e.g., restrictively and in an authoritarian manner.

One might ask the question "Do parents know how to follow a philosophy of child training that is discrepant from their 'natural tendencies' to react in a certain way?" The answer to this question is probably "yes!" At least they can do things that are different from what they are doing (e.g., when they are being restrictive) that seem to them to be more permissive (or restrictive). If, however, they are further asked by the psychologist to be consistent in the administration of their permissive training program for their child, there would be some real question as to their ability (know how or skill) to perform accordingly. The reasons for their inability are complex, probably involving such phenomena as the lag between a cognitive decision making and the affective or emotional reactions to the new (presumably more desirable) behavior, a not uncommon dilemma. (You can change your behavior but it doesn't immediately *feel* right, natural, or like you.)

Lacking the ability to follow a permissive philosophy of child training and being of an authoritarian, or domineering nature, a conflict often arises between what they believe they *should* do and what they feel like doing at the moment. The working rule of thumb for such a parent might be,"don't do what comes naturally." When in certain mood states (tired, depressed, frustrated, hungry) this parent often resorts to his or her natural inclinations to give orders, to boss people around, or to otherwise structure situations. The parent, realizing his having violated his or her philosophy or program for child rearing (and having acted in a natural way), experiences guilt for having let his spouse and himself down, or for having messed up the "child-rearing program" by being weak or impulsive. In this fashion a neat little neurotic interactive situation is established, the results of which can take many forms. The major conceptual consequences of this parental inconsistency (being permissive at times and restrictive at others) would be to give the child several conflicting (inconsistent) models to follow (as noted above). The child would consequently have *reason enough* to be confused and might retreat into the home and to the security of Mommy's skirts to find renewed confidence and direction.

In addition, this response by the child of seeking the physical presence, contact or reassurance from the parent might then be encouraged by the insecure parent who might interpret this behavior from the child as love and therefore a vindication of this parent's performance (how could I be wrong when Johnny loves me so much?).

It might be possible to use as a measure of the parents as training agents, the discrepancy between their beliefs about child-rearing and their perception of how they feel they would behave if no philosophy had been adopted for child rearing. Stated somewhat differently the discrepancy is between the extent to which the parents behave as "they think they should" versus how "they feel like responding." In essence the discrepancy can be construed as the extent to which the parent behaves in a rational, intellectual or philosophical way and on the other hand the extent to which the parent behaves just as he is inclined to, viz., "naturally."

Of course certain variables which are so significant as to confound the assessment of this thesis must be controlled. Some of these might include the pathology of the parent, the love for the child, the degree and direction of permissiveness, or strictness of the child-rearing practices.

The next consideration is the types of behavior which might be sensitive to these differences in parental response to the child. It might be expected that the child of a minimally discrepant (least rational or intellectual) training orientation would produce the child who would be maximally adept at dealing with other people in a realistic fashion and relatively less dependent. This would be because their parents in interacting naturally with them would have somehow communicated and taught concepts which are closer to the reality of the way people in general understand and implement these concepts. The rules these children are following would need less explanation and would be more understandable to any casual or trained observer. That is, the judges would conclude that the child from the "maximally discrepant" families would behave more inappropriately and therefore more dependently for a child, and less desirably than the children from minimally discrepant families.

III

Review of the Literature

The relationships among parental child-rearing practices and the child's behavior have been, for the most part, contradictory, inconclusive and unstable. Although the relationships among parental traits (as opposed to rearing practices) and certain child variables have been somewhat more significant, the demonstration of the persistence of these child personality behaviors over time has yet to be made.

The findings for the relationships among the parental variables (either traits or child-rearing practices) and the child's competence (except to the extent that "adjustment" encompasses "competence") has hardly been tested to date. Child dependency, on the other hand, has been an extremely popular variable and has been assessed in hundreds of studies over the years. However, the dearth of non-trivial findings for the relationships among parent and child variables generally is not excepted in the instance of childhood dependency. Since excellent reviews supporting this argument are abundant (see Hoffman and Hoffman, 1964; Johnson and Medinnus, 1965; Watson, 1965) reiteration of these more recent studies which did not meet those publication deadlines will not be reviewed again here.

Furthermore, it has become clear that even those relationships which have been obtained among competence, dependence and parental variables in cross-sectional studies may not prevail across time. Indeed, Kagan and Moss (1962) in their impressive 30 year logitudinal study found that the only important prediction of dependency in any given four-year span in the child's (or young adult's) life was the dependence in the previous four year interval. This is somewhat surprising because, if true, it would tend to indicate that the development of traits in the child is determined by factors or by methods other than those assessed in the Kagan and Moss (1962) project.

Although it is disconcerting to the social scientist to note that present behavior is a poor predictor of future behavior (dependency in the Kagan and Moss [1962] study) there is the encouraging possibility that the conceptualization of those variables and the methods for their assessment can be improved upon. It was to this latter possibility that this researcher has appealed as noted in the last section and elaborated and implemented in the following section (methods and procedures).

From the conceptualization of dependence and competence certain types of parental treatment of the child were found to be logically or conceptually related to the development perpetuation of those traits (dependence and competence) in the child.

It should be kept in mind that how the parent treats the child is not the same as the child-rearing practices the parent engages in nor the same as the parents traits per se. Child-rearing practices and parental traits could correlate with the way the parent treats the child, but there are not necessary or well demonstrated relationships among these classifications of parental variables in the research to date.

Variables characterized in terms of parental treatment of the child bear a resemblence to the work of Bijou and Baer (1961) and other developmental researchers associated with the Skinnerian position. However, there are more dissimilarities than can be clarified in this paper. The resemblence of the Skinnerian developmentalists work and this researcher's use of treatment variables resides only in the empirical focus and in the emphasis upon parent-child interaction. The treatment of a child as dependent, even though he is not more dependent than the average child of his age, may tend to draw (shape, reinforce, etc.) him in a dependent direction because of his amenability to the expectation of others, as was noted in the last section of this paper.

This is all by way of saying that there are as yet few studies which have focused upon treatment variables in contrast to child rearing or trait variables. As a consequence the literature survey which follows includes a conglomerate of child-rearing practices, parental traits and assessments of the parent which only tend to border on treatment variables (as used by this researcher) as they relate to the childs dependence and competence. The reasons for the inclusion of parental variables only indirectly related to the treatment variables employed in this study are:

1. To support the contention that child-rearing variables are weak predictions compared to parental trait variables stated above.

2. To support the claim that dependence and competence have not been successfully related to parent variables.

3. To give the reader a representative sample of the research results on the issue to help him appreciate the magnitude of the problem.

4. Because the three types of parental treatment of the child overlap conceptually with such parental trait variables as warmth, coldness, permissiveness, restrictiveness, and various child-rearing practices if engaged in over a considerable period of time.

5. Because there is essentially no literature which assesses parental types of treatment in the sense used in this study and its relation to the dependence or competence of the child.

The relationships of parental variables to the child's dependence will be discussed first, and their relationship to the child's competence later.

The Child's Dependence Related to Some Parental Variables

Child-rearing Practices Related to the Child's Dependence.

From the conceptual analysis of dependence and competence in the previous section it was concluded that these characteristics in the child should be more closely associated with the overall treatment of the child by the parent or with the personality traits of the parent than by what specific child-rearing practices the parent engages in.

An extensive analysis of specific child-rearing practices was first undertaken by Sears, Whiting, Nowles, and Sears in 1953 and followed up in 1957 (Sears, Maccoby and Levin) and 1965 (Sears, Rau and Alpert). In the earlier study Sears, et al., (1953) studied a sample of 40 preschool children (20 girls and 20 boys) by a time-sampling technique in the nursery and the parents by interview techniques. They found dependency in both boys and girls to be positively related to the severity of weaning although they failed to replicate this finding in their 1957 study. It is possible that this was due to their use of parental report for measurement of the child's dependence in the second (1957) study. The authors, however, suggest the low reliability of parental reports as the possible reason for the discrepant findings. No relation between toilet training practices was derived for dependency in either study. Sears, et al., (1953) suggest a critical period notion as explanation for the differential effects of the parents' treatment of weaning and toilet training and the child's dependence, although this notion was not tested in either of the later studies (Sears, et al., 1957, 1965). In addition, Sears and associates (1953) found that rigid feeding schedules were related to dependency for girls but not for boys.

Sewell and Mussen (1952), in a well designed study of 162 five- and six-year-old rural children (from unbroken American middle class homes) and their parents revealed almost no significant relationship among any aspects of infant training and any aspects of the child's adjustment (including dependency). The one exception was that if toilet training was delayed the child was better adjusted, a finding in direct contradiction to the Sears, et al., (1953, 1957) reports for this variable.

In a well conceived study of 25 Jewish urban lower middle class families attending a mental health clinic, Behrens (1954) assessed both maternal attitudes and maternal practices in child rearing. She analyzed the maternal role, the consistency of treatment of the child, overprotection, and the mother's tendency to adapt her discipline to the needs of the child rather than following specific practices. Behrens (1954) found that, while the attitudes of the mother do relate to the child's behavior, the maternal practices (treatment) do not. She reports that the quality of the child's adjustment is dependent upon his total interaction with his mother ("Total Mother Person") and not upon any specific social practice. The Behrens (1954) study employed an intensive interview with the mother to probe her child-rearing practices. She used the California Test of Personality (Form A given by a trained clinician to the child) and teacher's ratings of the child to assess the child variables. The demonstrated poor validity and reliability of the reports of children of ages six and seven could explain the dearth of relationships educed from this study. This study again was not based upon direct observational data for the child variables but upon self reports and interviews.

This represents only a small sample of the studies attempting to relate specific child-rearing practices to the child's dependence which have contributed to the conclusions by Johnson and Medinnus (1965), and Watson (1965) that this type of variable seems to be essentially unrelated to the child's dependence.

Parental Traits Related to the Child's Dependence. On the basis of the paucity of relationships among the specific child-rearing practices and the child's dependence (and for other reasons) many researchers have focused upon more global trait type variables. Among the more popular parental traits studied have been parental warmth (hostility), persuasiveness (restrictiveness), authoritarianism, overprotectiveness, nurturance and rejection.

One of the early efforts toward documenting the effects of parental warmth was made by Ribble (1943) in a still popular book entitled the Rights of Infants. Her argument was that both the physical and psychological well-being of an infant depends upon close emotional and physical contact with a mother, especially during the early life of the child. Pinneau (1950) and Watson (1965) have criticized her work rather severely, pointing to the weak empirical substantiation for her conclusions, but the child-rearing public has continued to read her book. In the same year, Levy (1943) published his now classic work, entitled Maternal Overprotection, which may have been the inspiration for a rapid increase in the number of studies endeavoring to relate parent and child variables.

In an extreme groups design, Watson (1957) compared warm families (as nominated by teachers and social workers) which were also either especially restrictive or permissive. He found that warm, restrictive parents had more dependent and incompetent children (less creative, less persistent, high in fantasy aggression) than did warm, permissive parents.

The remaining studies concerning the relation between parental warmth and the child's dependency were either equivocal or showed no relationships. Although Kagan and Moss (1962) did not directly assess parental warmth, they did measure parental hostility, which, as used in that study, was similar to coldness or the lack of warmth used in other research. Their findings indicated that parental protection and hostility, in combination, produce withdrawal (a type of dependency) as an adult (age 20-29) but only for girls and only if these parental personality traits were predominant within the first three years of the child's life. Of more than ten dependency and dependency-related variables tested, these were the only significant findings and, in view of the number of relationships tested might not hold up under replication.

Several studies have been concerned primarily with the effect of maternal nurturance (warmth as characterized therein) on later dependence in the child. Goldfarb (1945), Bowlby (1953), Spitz (1951) and Kagan and Moss (1962) all found no significant relationship between maternal nurturance in infancy and later dependence for boys.

Sears and his associates (1957) have provided some support for their contention that dependence in children is related to the parental tactic of withdrawing or threatening to withdraw from a child in response to aggression from the child, however, the independent assessment of independent and dependent variables in this study has been questioned.

One of the earliest efforts to study permissiveness and restrictiveness was made by Symonds (1939). Although he used the terms dominant and submissive as multidimensional traits, his definitions appear to include both permissiveness and restrictiveness. Dominant parents were described by Symonds as being strong in their control of the child, restrictive, strict, severe in punishment and criticism, and excessive in planning for the child's needs. The submissive parents were characterized as giving lots of freedom, giving in to the child's demands, and as being indulgent, permissive, deserting, neglecting, lax and inconsistent. He found that dominant parents' children were better socialized, more curious, obedient, neat, generous, polite but sensitive, self conscious, shy and retiring while submissive parents' children were disobedient, irresponsible, disorderly in the classroom, lack sustained attention, lacked regular work habits but were more forward and expressive.

From this early and quite unsophisticated study it appeared that some sensible (and common sense) relationships between parent and child variables had been established. Shortly thereafter Levy (1943) produced a more precise and careful conceptualization and definition on both the dependent and independent variable sides of the parent-child relationship. In this "case sifting" method, Levy selected pure maternally overprotecting mothers, referring to cases where the child was, at least consciously, wanted by his mother and characterized by excessive contact, infantilization, and prevention of independent behavior (analogous to this writer's Type II parent with the exception of the excessive contact criteria). When combined with domination by the parent this pattern of parental interaction was found to be highly related to dependence in the child. Smith (1958) also disclosed a relationship between maternal overprotection and dependence in the child. One purpose for his study was to compare interview and observation as methods for collecting data bearing upon the mother's treatment of the child. Unfortunately, in this study, as in the Sears, et al. (1957) study, the data for both the mother and child was based on the interview with the mother. As a result we cannot eliminate the possibility that the mother, who may have been willing to admit to overprotection, might also have perceived her child as needing protection.

In their thirty-year longitudinal study, Kagan and Moss (1962) explored the relation between parental restrictiveness and the child's dependence. Their findings were as follows:

1. Restricting the boy between ages 3 and 6 was related to dependence and fearfulness at ages 3-7. This result did not hold up into adulthood and was not significant for girls.

2. Early restriction was related to greater inhibition than was later restriction of both boys and girls.

3. If the mother restricts the boy early she will not restrict him later whereas, with girls, there was more likely to be consistency in the maternal restrictiveness received early and late in childhood.

4. Dependency reinforced by the mother increased the dependency of the child at that age, but not for the later periods studied.

5. Protection of the son (but not the daughter) during the first three years of life was related to passivity at ages 6-10. However, protection between ages 3-6 did not produce the same degree of passivity at ages 6-10.

Kagan and Moss (1962, p. 214) stated that the maternal behaviors studied were not highly predictive of adult dependency, especially in men. The best predictor of dependency at a later age for men was their dependency at the prior assessment age period. The results indicated, according to Kagan and Moss (1962, p. 214), that "dependent behavior is simply not a function of the degree of maternal protection or restriction placed upon the child. Restriction seemed to be more relevant to the girl and protection for the boy as regards passivity."

Again it was difficult to summarize these findings. If there is a consistent pattern to this set of results, it is that dependence in children is complexly determined but may be related to the permissiveness and restrictiveness of the parents.

Wittenborn, et al. (1956) asked 114 five-year-olds and 81 first graders (adopted by their families) a series of interview questions about their dependence upon their parents in various family situations. On the basis of a questionnaire given to the child's mother, the extent of maternal rejection was significantly correlated ($r = .30$, $p < .05$) with self reported dependence upon adults. In a study of 56 nursery school children, Baldwin (1949) found that children of indulgent parents were significantly less active, less aggressive and less socially successful than children from democratic (warm-permissive) homes. Unfortunately the parental variables, again, were not clearly described or characterized, making comparison of these findings to those of the other studies difficult. McCord, McCord and Howard (1962) reported that lack of cohesion as well as rejection in the family increase the child's dependency, as do strict supervision and highly authoritarian child-rearing practices.

Sears, et. al., (1953) found dependency behavior in 40 preschool children (boy and girls) to be related to infantile treatment by the mother (similar to the Type II treatment variable used in this study). They also found a positive relationship between the amount of punitiveness in the home and dependent tendency in boys. However, they report the reverse relationship for girls, viz., the greater the punishment of the girl, the less the amount of dependent behavior, when the mother is the punishing agent.

In an extensive analysis of the relationships among various parental attitudes (or traits) and the child's adjustment, Burchinal (1958) found almost no significant correlation among parent attitudes and the child's personality, using a variety of paper and pencil instruments to assess the parent and child variables. Burchinal speculated that either the child or parent may perceive each other differently or both could have been inaccurate in their perceptions. The questionable validity and very low reliability (e.g., one week test-retest reliability for the Rogers (1931) Test of Personality Adjustment) of some of the instruments used and the absence of behavioral and other cross-validation efforts in this study for the focal variables could have accounted for the findings of no relation between these variables.

In one of the few studies of parent-child interaction, Crandall, Orleans, Preston and Rabson (1958) tried to link parent-child interaction to the behavior of the child with peers and adults in other situations in a manner similar to the procedure used in the present research (see Section V). For children of two different age levels they related ratings of the mother's reinforcement of compliance (dependence) and punishment of noncompliance (negative independence?) to the child's interaction with both adults and peers separately. Contrary to a considerable number of other studies (Beller and Turner, 1962; Kagan and Moss, 1960; King, 1959; Lindzey and Goldberg, 1953; Marshall, 1961) they found sex (and also IQ) unrelated to social compliance.

In a report on Puerto Rican children, Landy (1959, p. 140) states, "There is no significant relationship between the degree of parental response to dependency (in the child) and dependency behavior." Landy concludes that dependence in children cannot be explained on the basis of psychoanalytic or learning theories (p. 141). Mann (1959) observed forty-one nursery school children in free-play activity for fifty-five two-minute intervals. He found only one of fifteen intercorrelations among maternal attitudes and dependency. Mann used essentially all of the items developed by Beller (1955, 1959) and by Sears, et al., (1953, 1957).

Although treating the child as an adult, an infant or as a child (as conceptualized in this study) might seem to have much in common with parental warmth (hostility), permissiveness (restrictiveness) and other so called parental trait variables the appearance is deceptive. For most of the studies cited, warmth was conceptualized as a continuous variable ranging from very little to very much. The researcher in these studies endeavored to find a simple correlation between a parent variable and some child variable. It is conceivable that these variables might be related for some range of parental warmth (or any other variable) but not for other ranges. At the high extreme of parental warmth we might call the trait "smother love" rather than warmth. "Smother love" could be a type of warmth that might be detrimental to the child's development while a lesser degree of warmth might have more positive effects. Similarly permissiveness, while facilitating the child's development in moderation, might be more like rejection if the parent is extremely permissive. What is being suggested is that many parental variables which have been shown to be unrelated to child variables may be related in a curvilinear fashion rather than in a simple linear fashion. The problem with the assessment of curvilinearly related variables is to ascertain the optimum point or peak of the curve. In this study the problem of ascertaining the peak (or optimum point) for the curve was handled by reconceptualizing the focal variables. For example, the Type III variable (treating the child as a child) was conceptualized in terms of doing the right (or optimum) sorts of things with the child including being optimally warm, permissive, etc., but not too warm, too cold, too permissive or too restrictive. This treatment of the child as a child was contrasted to treating the child as an adult (Type I parent) or as an infant (Type II parent).

By such a conceptualization these *treatment* variables become multidimensional and include the notion of doing the right (or appropriate) sorts of things with the child under the circumstances and in consideration of the child's needs, interests and abilities.

The wisdom of the decision to employ *these* multidimensional variables must await the results of the empirical tests of the hypotheses which follow this section. First, however, we must look to limited literature attempting to relate the *competence* of the child to certain parental variables.

The Child's Competence Related to Parental Variables

Although competence has only lately become a variable of interest to psychologists, the fruits from this research seem to have rewarded the investigators' efforts to a greater degree than in the studies of dependency.

As there is ample evidence that dependence decreases with age, there is similar evidence that competence increases with age. In a very early study, Joel (1936) found that taking off wraps, helping oneself without reminder, facing difficulty without appeals for help, taking initiative, playing constructively, seeing the other child's point of view, all increase with age. The general point is somewhat trivial although considerable research effort has been required to unravel the specifics.

Another early research finding was that of Baldwin (1949) who reported a strong relationship between the democratic home (warm and permissive environment) and the socially assertive (competent) child. Levin (1958) also found a significant relationship between warm-permissive child-rearing practices and assumption of adult role (competence) in doll play. Levin (1958) in the same study found maternal sex anxiety (as determined in a three hour interview) and assumption of the adult role correlated ($r = -.54$) as did the use of physical punishment ($r = -.38$). Bronfenbrenner (1961) also disclosed high levels of responsibility (competence?) observed in the child related to warmth and nurturant (permissive as used by this researcher) attitudes, especially when noted in the mother. Also detected in this study was a relationship between moderately strong discipline, especially from fathers, and the child's assumption of responsibility. This result held only for boys, however. Bronfenbrenner also reported that leadership is facilitated by nurturant and warm relationships with parents but, again, only for boys. The same factors appeared to discourage leadership in girls and augment dependency behavior. Levy (1943) earlier found that a warm-permissive parental background was related to the ability to control aggression and to express aggression appropriately (competence?).

Kagan and Moss (1962) in their longitudinal study reported the following findings for boys for competence related variables:

1. Protection of the boy during ages 0-3 was correlated with intellectual achievement (competence?) at ages 10-14 ($r = .76$, $p < .001$).

2. Aggression to his mother was unrelated to the mother's treatment of the son during his first six years.

3. Maternal hostility between ages 6-10 was related to aggression in the boy for those same ages. Again it was possible that the child's aggression provoked the mother's hostility, as no provision was made in

the study to preclude or account for this interpretation of these results.

4. If the mother was hostile toward the child during ages 6-10 there was "disorganization" in those boys and girls between 6-10 and 10-14.

5. Protection of the son between ages 0-3 was related to a non-masculine sex role interest (incompetence?) at ages 6-10 ($r = .40$, $p < .05$).

6. Although the maternal attitude toward the girl was related to the daughter's adult achievement, maternal attitude toward the son was not related to the son's adult achievement.

Crandall, et al. (1960), using an observation technique to assess maternal affection and the child's preschool achievement efforts (competence), revealed no relations between these two variables. However, if the parent reinforced the achievement efforts, their incidence increased in the nursery (simple reinforcement principle). In a study of maternal attitude to independence training, Chance (1951) concluded that mothers who favored earlier independence training had children less adequate in reading and arithmetic progress than mothers who favored later training (relative incompetence). Winterbottom (1958) studied the role of the mother in supplying her son with learning experiences that would develop independence and desire for mastery (competence). She reported that boys high in need achievement were given earlier independence training by the mother but fewer (although earlier) restrictions on their independence activity. Although the resolution of these apparently contradictory findings is not complete, a study by Medinnus (1961) makes a good start in this direction. In this study Medinnus reported that homes of well adjusted children received a higher rating on the "Dependency-Encouraging factor" of the Fels Parent Rating Behavior Scale, than did the homes of poorly adjusted children. These findings tend to support the Chance (1951) study. More important, possibly, is Medinnus' suggestion that the encouragement of independence could be basic rejection of the child in disguise (the Type I and/or "Off the back" oriented parent described in the last chapter). Medinnus (1961) also noted the importance of a warm, affectionate or nurturant relationship to the development of independence or competence in the child and the relatively less significant effects of the specific training program adopted by the parent for the child.

On the debit side of the ledger, Hoffman (1963) studied the child's consideration for others (competence) and impulse control (among other variables) and found none of the parental variables studied, including amount of pleasurable non-disciplinary mother-child interaction, related to either of these competence variables. The study was well designed and included observation of the child in the nursery for three and one-half hours over a three month period and an interview with the mother. Burchinal, Hawkes and Gardner (1957b) attempted to link parental attitudes to the child's adjustment and found no significant relations between the parents' responses to the Porter (1954) measure of adjustment and the child's adjustment as measured by the Roger's (1931) test of Personality Adjustment. However, as noted earlier, both Rogers' (1931) and Porter's (1954) tests were found to have very low test-retest reliability.

In other miscellaneous findings, Tuma and Levson (1960) report that rebelliousness in boys (a type of incompetence as defined in this study) was inversely related to the mother's educational attainments. Finally Glidewell (1961) noted the greatest disturbances in the child (incompetence) whose mother was projecting, impotent, and paranoid; the next greatest degree of disturbance in the child whose mother was cautious or reserved about the success of their efforts to deal with the problem (incompetent) children; and third greatest extent of disturbance in the child if the mother was depressed and felt responsible but impotent to influence the outcome of her child's behavior.

Summary and Conclusions from the Literature Survey

In this section it was shown that specific parental child-rearing practices bear only tenuous and inconsistent relationships to the child's competence and dependence. Although some of the traits of the parent (especially warmth) are related to the focal child variables (competence and dependence) the relationships are neither consistent nor particularly impressive.

Some of the reasons for the difficulties that researchers have met in attempting to demonstrate relationships among dependence (or independence), competence (or incompetence) and parental child-rearing practices (or treatment of the child by the parent) after so many research efforts might include the following:

1. The propensity to employ unreliable and unvalidated paper and pencil instruments and to avoid direct observation.

2. Incomplete or inaccurate conceptualization of the variables.

3. The myth that there is a "common element" to all dependence and competence behavior which can be operationalized without sacrificing the meaning of the concept.

4. The belief that if a child is dependent under one set of circumstances he should be expected to be dependent under all circumstances.

5. The belief that such variables as self-esteem, love, warmth and other so-called mentalistic phenomena are not amenable or worthy of systematic, scientific assessment.

6. The precedent for the tendency to consider personality variables and "needs" as entities or forces "inside the individual" which are "calling out" or demanding satisfaction.

7. The tendency on the part of psychologists to become tied to standardized methodological paradigms in an effort to avoid "contamination" or confounding within and between the sets of independent and dependent variables when such so-called "bias" when properly understood and evaluated might be of interest in discovering which concepts are able to relate child to parental variables.

8. The belief that the father's treatment of the child is essentially irrelevant.

9. The failure to acknowledge or assess curvilinear relationships among the variables.

These criticisms, of course, do not apply to all the studies dealing with the relationships between parents and children surveyed above. As was noted, there have been a number of excellent research efforts. The criticism pertains to the general tendencies for developmental child research only.

In an effort to remedy the existing dilemma in our understanding of what part the parent plays in fostering dependency and competence in the child, it was suggested that treatment variables rather than child-rearing practices or parental traits be employed in the study of these relationships. It was further suggested that a more pragmatic methodology (Ossorio, 1966) be used which focuses upon direct observation of both the parent and the child separately and in interaction with one another. It was also suggested that the total context of the behavior of both the parent and the child must be considered before it will be possible to ferret out the complexly determined relationships between how the parent treats the child and what the child is able to do (his competence and dependence).

IV

Hypotheses

The first set of hypotheses presupposed that the most important contribution to the production of dependence and competence in the four-year-old child is the way the parents treat the behaviors which characterize these traits. It was hypothesized that parents of the dependent children would be characteristically of two varieties, referred to as parental Types I and II, whereas the parents of competent children would be Type III parents.

Types of Parents

Type I Parents. Type I parents were described as parents who treat the child as an adult. That is, they engage in excessively early independence training, imposing strong pressures upon the child to induce him to become maximally independent or competent. The rationale that these children were expected to be dependent rather than independent or competent was as follows. If the child is forced at an early age to engage in behaviors and perform tasks which are beyond his mental, physical, emotional and developmental potentialities at that time, the effect should be to maximize the possibility of failure in the attempted accomplishment of the task or at least to diminish the frequency of success experiences for this child. It was reasoned that a series of failure experiences would be expected to result in a self-appraisal of inadequacy, worthlessness, and in an inordinate fear of the "outside world." As a consequence of this fear the child might be expected to retreat from that threatening world outside to the comfort, and security of his mother's lap or a more available surrogate (not dissimilar from the reactions of Harlow's [1960] rhesus monkeys).

The prediction was that parents of dependent children would be rated higher on the Type I parent variable (treating the child as an adult) than would the parents of competent children.

Type II Parents. The Type II parent was characterized as the parent who treats the child as an infant. This hypothesis was not dissimilar from those advanced in connection with Levy's (1943) concept of the dominantly (rather than indulgently) overprotective parent who restricts the child's natural inclination toward independent action, growth and exploration of his world. The hypothesis can be stated simply that overprotection or infantilization of the child should be positively related to the dependence of the child. The overprotection can be limited to physical exploration but is more often found to pervade the domains of intellectual and social areas of exploration and discovery. This hypothesis is not unrelated to the "reinforcement" and "modeling" hypotheses popular currently (Bandura and Walters, 1963). However, the dynamics of the parent-child interaction within this type of home or from this type of parent (who treats the child as an infant) were believed to be more subtle and pernicious than a simple reinforcement or modeling theory might lead one to expect.

The prediction was that parents of dependent children would be rated higher in treating the child as an infant (as Type II parents) than would parents of competent children.

Type III Parent. The third type of parent was described as the parent who treats the child as the child he is. This parent is in many respects an ideal type. He has very few personal problems which might affect his treatment of the child. This parental type was described as warm, loving, accepting, interested, responsible, self-actualizing, but more importantly as uniquely in tune with the needs and abilities of the child.

It was predicted that parents of competent children would be rated higher on this variable than would parents of dependent children.

Consistency Hypotheses

This hypothesis involved the assessment of the discrepancy between the philosophy of child rearing adopted by the parent and his inclination (or disposition) to react in a certain way to dependent behavior observed in his child. For example, it might be expected that a parent raised by rather authoritarian parents or in a highly restrictive environment might be expected to respond restrictively to his or her child. At the same time one or both of the parents may have adopted a so-called "permissive" philosophy of child training. The propensity to respond restrictively to the child (e.g., spanking and chiding) for the violation of certain family rules, it was argued, might come into conflict with the desire to follow a more permissive philosophy. Although many parents seemed to repress or suppress natural tendencies to respond in a restrictive, authoritarian, punishing fashion (because they had adopted a "permissive" philosophy), they might be expected to resort to these "natural tendencies" to restrict or use physical force in shaping the behavior of the child, when under stress. The believed violation of his permissive philosophy might cause the parent some concern (even guilt) for having "given in" to his impulse to be restrictive. It might further be expected that this parent's inconsistency might contribute to uncertainty or confusion in the child concerning what is allowable, suitable, or resonable for him (the child) to do under the circumstances. In the extreme, one might expect the child to develop confused or imprecise concepts regarding the appropriateness of fighting for one's rights, arguing and asking for help. Such a confused child often does not know how to react to either his peers or to adults (incompetence). This uncertainty may lead to the adaptive device of overreliance on others to tell him what to do (dependence).

The hypothesis, in summary, states that, within a wide range of parental practices, to the extent the parents' philosophy is coincident with ~~his~~ tendencies to respond to the child, the child be be maximally competent and appropriately independent. Conversely, to the extent that the parent's philosophy of child-rearing and natural tendencies to respond are maximally discrepant, the child would be expected to be dependent, at least upon his parents if not across persons and situations. It was predicted that the discrepancy for the parents of dependent children would be greater than for the parents of competent children.

V

Methods and Procedures

The design for this study was in large part dictated by the conceptualization of the variables investigated and their hypothesized relationships. Thirty-four children (17 dependent and 17 competent) and their parents were chosen for study from a group of 165 children observed in eleven nurseries. The 34 children were divided into two groups for separate analysis. One group consisted of 20 children (ten dependent and ten competent) and the other of the remaining 14 children. The group of 20 children represented the clearest cases of dependence and competence in the sample.

A Brief Description of the Study and an Outline of the Methods and Procedures

In brief, the methods and procedures chosen for the assessment of the parent and child variables were as follows:

1. The children were studied in local preschool and Sunday School nurseries by a category rating scales (see Appendix A) which included the entire repertoire of their specific interactions with other children and adults in this environment (e.g., A commands B, B gives to C, etc.).

2. On the basis of global judgments made by the observers (independently of the category rating scales) for the child's dependence and competence in the nursery (see Appendix B) the child and his family were invited to visit the University and participate in the study as a group for two successive sessions of approximately one hour on the same evening.

3. In Session I the parents completed a number of paper and pencil questionnaires (see below and Appendices C_1 - C_5 for these forms). During this session the parents were requested to keep the child with them until he could have his opportunity to go to the "play room." During this interval the mother, father, and child were observed from behind a one-way mirror.

4. During the second session the parents were conducted to separate offices and interviewed by trained interviewers while the child was interviewed in a third room by the child experimenter.

5. Finally the experimenter discussed with the parents at length their having been observed and the problems of scientific validity, described the purpose of the study, its hypotheses, and dismissed the family giving them a small remuneration ($.50 per hour) for their baby sitters' fees.

6. Four months later the parents received a description of the study, its hypotheses, and findings. At the same time they were invited to a large meeting of the participating parents to discuss the study with the investigator (and other interested parents).

7. At a later time the tapes and transcripts of the interviews with the parents were analyzed and global ratings of the parental variables were recorded.

The Children Studied

Eleven of the largest nurseries in the community were chosen for study. All accepted with only two temporarily delaying. In all, 116 boys were observed for the specified one hour, because of various problems encountered in retaining the 165 children in the sample to the completion of the study. The 49 boys deleted from the original sample included children who either dropped out of the preschool or whose attendance was so infrequent or intermittent that their behavior could not be appropriately sampled.

Observation and Assessment of the Dependence and Competence of the Child

Observation and Assessment of the Child in the Nursery. Where possible a particular child's behavior was studied at random intervals over a period of from four to seven months. Each child was observed for a total period of sixty minutes or more. The observation procedure involved "episode sampling," each episode ranging from one to twelve minutes in length. An "episode" was defined by the behavior of the child in interaction with other children. For example, if a fight were ensuing,the child was observed until the fight had terminated. The rationale for this procedure was to give the observer a greater opportunity to ascertain the context of or reasons for the fight.

Generation of Matrix Interaction Scores. Concurrently with the observation of the child in the nursery the observed (or focus) child's interaction with other children and adults was posted in one of two types of matrices referred to as the "child-child' matrices, and the "child-adult" (see Appendix D) matrices. The "child-child" matrices were divided into matrices for interaction with younger children and girls and a child the same age or older. The "child-adult" matrices consisted of a "child-teacher" matrix and a "child-observer" matrix. All four matrices were identical as to format.

After sixty minutes of interaction had been recorded on the four matrices, they were scored for: dependence (D), independence ($\overline{D}$), competence (C), and incompetence ($\overline{C}$). The cells of each matrix used for the prediction of the four traits were derived from the conjunctions of three independent nursery school observers' independent judgments (see Appendix E for the details of the generation of the "opinion matrix prediction scores").

Two sets of predictions were generated for the specific individual (atomistic) behavior interactions in the nursery which were expected, _a priori_, to be related to the global judgments. One was based on the conjunction or intersection of the three nursery observers' predictions and the other based on this investigator's predictions (see Appendix E). The reason for the two sets of _a priori_ predictions was the interest in exploring the possibility that this investigator, by virtue of his relatively greater experience in the nurseries and by his more intense study of the relevant variables, might be able to predict more accurately the elements of the matrices which would correlate with the nursery observers' global judgments. However, it was found that the correlations for this investigator's _a priori_ predictions for the child's dependence and competence were not significantly different from the predictions for the three judges and the second set of _a priori_ predictions, for this investigator, was not further analyzed.

Interjudge Reliabilities for the Specific Category Behaviors. Interjudge reliabilities for the categories of specific behaviors for the child were derived for two judges who assisted the investigator. Each of the observers was trained for approximately one and one-half hours in the nursery. The training also entailed two half-hour discussions of the rough design for the study and the concepts of dependence and competence in children. Pearsonian correlation coefficients were calculated for each of the fifteen categories of behavior. The mean reliability coefficient was .826 with the range being between .458 and 1.000 (see Table 1 - also see Appendix F for the method for calculating these coefficients).

Table 1 about here

Global Ratings for the Child in the Nursery. After a child had been observed for sixty minutes, each observer, who had observed him for any period of time, made eight global judgments for his competence and dependence and indicated his confidence in his rating on a scale of from 1 to 4, (see rating forms in Appendix B). These global judgments included the ratings of the child's dependence on, and competence with adults, peers and objects (six ratings) and a global judgment for his overall competence and dependence (see Table 2).

Table 2 about here

The interjudge reliability coefficients for this investigator with each of the other observers were between .368 and .907 and averaged .610 for both dependence and competence. The coefficients were generally higher for competence than for dependence.

Table 1

Interjudge Reliability Coefficients Between the Investigator and Two Other Nursery Observers for Category Rating Form

	Other Child			
	Boy[a]		Girl[b]	
	Observer Number			
	1	2	1	2
Asks for	.964[c]	.942[d]	.740	.908
Gives	.659[e]	.826	1.000	.854
Commands	NA[e]	.971	.961	.870
Offer, Suggest, Greet	.833	.563	1.000	.966
Accepts, Reciprocates	.825	.946	.669	.861
Non-hostile aggression	NA	.962	.835	.772
Non-hostile reaction	.939	.612	.775	.703
Imitates or follows	NA	1.000	NA	1.000
Rejects interruption	.458	1.000	NA	NA
Rejects others	.885	.799	NA	.829
Withdraws or avoids	NA	NA	NA	.710
Ignores	.867	.880	.655	.879
Hostile or aggressive	NA	.696	NA	1.000
Hostile or aggressive reaction	NA	.946	NA	NA
Productive play		.606		.606
Non-productive play		.781		.781

[a] Boys same age and older

[b] Includes younger boys in some instances

[c] N = 54 children for five minutes each

[d] N = 86 children for five minutes each

[e] NA means that the frequency of that cell was less than ten rendering the correlation coefficients highly unstable

Table 2

Interjudge Reliabilities for Global Child Ratings

by Nursery Observers

	Competence			Dependence			Overall	
	Peers	Adult	Objects	Objects	Adults	Peers	Comp.	Dep.
Investigator[a] with Observer #1	.777	.705	.665	.477	.538	.295	.907	.639
Investigator[b] with Observer #2	.675	.461	.522	.497	.470	.434	.728	.535
Investigator[c] with Observer 1 & 2	.729	.594	.603	.490	.508	.368	.844	.607

[a] Number of Subjects - 18
[b] Number of Subjects - 22
[c] Number of Subjects - 59

Selecting Children for Further Study. The methodological justification for the use of an excluded middle design rather than dichotomizing the entire sample into high and low dependence and competence follows from the conceptualization of traits described in Section II. In the selection of the competent and dependent children the investigator alone chose the children to be studied based on his global-global judgments, essentially without regard to the more "elemental" global judgments or the second observer's ratings of the child except, where this investigator had observed the child for less than 15 minutes or where his confidence ratings on all eight categories averaged less than 2 on a 4-point scale. In at least three cases studied this investigator's judgments departed significantly from the second observer.

Assessment of the Parental Variables

The parental variables for the purposes of this study were the dependent or predicted variables. They included assessments of the parents for their tendency to treat the child as an adult, an infant or as a child (see Hypotheses, Section III), and parental consistency measured in various ways. The major test of the hypotheses was the tape analysts' global ratings of the parental interviews. The parental variables were also measured by paper and pencil instruments.

During Session I in the laboratory (see Appendix H) the parents filled out a number of questionnaires employed partly as a rationale for their retention in the lab with their child so that they could be observed. Although many of the formswere not coded or analyzed,a paper and pencil questionnaire (referred to as the Parental Questionnaire, see Appendix C_2)

designed by this investigator sub-sealed for variables paralleling the parental variables was analyzed. This data was scored to be used as a potential instrument cross-validating the direct observation of the parents in interaction with the child and the interview data (Session II - see below).

Also, during Session I (while the parents were completing their forms and interacting with the child) the mother and father interviewers (for Session II) were observing the interaction among the family members from behind a one-way mirror.

The rationale for allowing the interviewers to observe the parent-child interaction was to facilitate their probing the parents in the interview. In the pilot study it was concluded that many parents (especially the parents of dependent children) were uniquely adept at misleading the interviewer or leaving him with false impressions. No data is presented to support this conclusion as too few parents were compared for this methodological point. The decision to so employ the interviewers as observers was obviously not made in the interest of cutting corners as is apparent from the reading of the next section of the paper concerning the tape analysts ratings which were used as the dependent parental variable measure.

Interviews with the Parents. During the second hour the parents were given an unstructured interview in separate rooms by one of six trained interviewers (see Appendix I for the training procedures and Appendix J for the Interview). Structured interview questions (e.g., "breast and bottle feeding" and "toilet training") were probed and recorded on a form in the typical structured interview procedure (see Appendix K for the Structured Interview Questions).

The purpose of the interview was to obtain information sufficient for the tape analysts to judge the parents on global rating scales for the parental variables (see Appendix L for this rating form).

Analysts Global Ratings of the Parental Variables. The decision to base the test of the hypotheses for this study upon independent tape analysts rather than upon ratings made by the interviewers themselves was made in the interest of obtaining certain methodological purification of this study. Ratings by the interviewers of the parents could have been criticized as reflecting the interviewers efforts to fit the parents ratings with the observed behavior of the child. An important aspect of the analysts' data was the fact that they did not observe the child in the lab and therefore could not be accused of fitting "good parents" with "good children" (or vice versa) based on their observation of the child in the lab. However, since the parental interview included unavoided and probably unavoidable statements about the child's competence and/or dependence, one could argue that the analysts could be receiving enough information about the child to conclude which category the child had been assigned to (competent or dependent) and fit "bad" or "good" parents with "bad" or "good" children respectively (a type of halo or social desirability hypothesis).

To test these alternative hypotheses, sixteen tapes and transcripts for the interviews for four parents of each of the categories (mothers and fathers or competent and dependent children) were selected at random. All the information about the child was transcribed and presented to the analysts. They were simply informed that they were to "do the best you can at rating these parents for the eleven variables on the basis of the briefer information on these transcripts." For the fathers two of the comparisons were significant: Type III parent practice ($P < .05$), and consistency ($P < .05$). The significance of these "t" test comparisons was probably due to the fact that there were only three fathers in one cell who received the same score, resulting in zero variance in that cell, artifically inflating the significance of the difference. However, none of the comparisons for mothers revealed any significant differences (see Table 3).

Table 3 about here

From these findings it seems apparent that the analysts were unable to rate the parents on the basis of the information about the child. They do not appear to have been testing any obscure sorts of hypotheses and the data for the parents obtained from the analysts can be considered a relatively pure assessment of the dependent or parental variables.

The method for training the tape analysts represents a methodological feature of some potential importance to the social sciences. The analysts were primarily mothers of four-year-old children (by coincidence) who happened to be available for part-time employment. Their training amounted to listening to seven tape recordings of interviews with parents and observing several parent-child interaction sessions (Session I described above). This investigator discussed in very broad general terms his conceptualization of the parental variables and the construction of the scale lengths (see Appendix I). No special pains were taken to assure interjudge reliability between the judges. The analysts were simply told to do the best they could in rating the parents using their own best judgment.

Table 3

Two Analysts' Global Judgments for the Parental Variables Based on Tape Transcripts of the Information About the Child's Behavior

	Groups Compared	
	Mothers of Competent vs. Dependent Children	Fathers of Competent vs. Dependent Children
Parental Variables		
Type I	.670[a]	1.000[b]
Type II	-.645	-.277
Type III	-.161	-2.449*
Consistency	.508	-3.000*

$*P < .05$

[a] N = 15
[b] N = 15

One obvious advantage of this procedure was the ease of training and more importantly the replicability of the training procedure and therefore this entire study by other researchers.

The interjudge reliabilities for the analysts averaged -.108 for the mothers, .514 for the fathers, and .210 for the parents (see Table 4). The coefficients ranged from -.420 to 1.000 for all the variables rated. Of course it must be considered that these correlations were based on rather small sample size (n = 6, 6 and 12 subjects respectively, see Table 4) making these reliability coefficients themselves rather unstable.

Table 4 about here

These interjudge reliability coefficients would probably not satisfy most researchers. The rationale for proceding with the study under such circumstances was based on the recent findings of Ossorio (1966) where it was noted that satisfactory validity coefficients could be obtained in the absence of so-called high interjudge agreement. Be that as it may be, the wisdom of the decision must be deferred to the analysis of the results from such methods and procedures which follow directly.

Table 4

Interjudge Reliability Coefficients Between Two Analysts for the Parental Global Variables for Those Parents Judged by Both Analysts

	Mothers[a]	Fathers[b]	Parents[c]
Type I	.000	.894	.414
Type II	.559	1.000	.676
Type III	-.420	.000	-.286
Consistency	-.293	.167	-.062
Average	.139	.252	.117

[a] N = 6
[b] N = 6
[c] N = 12

VI

Results

The results section contains two types of findings. The first set of findings are those for which specific hypotheses were tested. The second set of outcomes represent an exploratory effort to compare the global judgments (see Appendix B) made by this investigator for the child's dependence and competence with the categories (elemental or atomistic) of interactive behaviors derived from the episode sampling of the child's interaction with the other children in the nursery or preschool (recorded on the category rating scale forms - see Appendix A).

The specific hypotheses tested were of two varieties:

1. Those pertaining to the type of parental treatment of the Child (Type I - as an adult, Type II - as an infant, and Type III - as a child).

2. Those pertaining to three measures of parental consistency.

Types of Parents

The hypotheses for the three types of parents (see Section IV) stated that parents of dependent children would be rated as being more inclined to treat the child as an adult (Type I) or as an infant (Type II) than would parents of competent children. It was predicted that the parents of competent children would be found to have treated them more as a child (Type III) than would the parents of dependent children. These predictions were made for the comparisons between both the fathers and the mothers. The results were predicted to hold for the total sample of families studied but to a greater extent for the *first twenty* families studied.

Type I Parent (Treating the Child as an Adult). As hypothesized it was found that the mothers of dependent children were judged by the analysts' global ratings to treat their children more as adults than did the mothers of dependent children. This result held for both the sample of the first twenty children ($P < .0005$, see Table 5) and

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Table 5 about here

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for the total sample ($P < .0005$). The relationship predicted for the fathers was similarly strong for the first twenty children ($P < .005$) but did not hold for the total sample. However, the scores derived from the Parental Questionnaire did not reveal any differences for either the mothers or fathers compared for either of the samples studied (see Table 5).

Type II Parent (Treating the Child as an Infant). Of the global ratings and Parental Questionnaire measure for the tendency to treat the child as an infant, the only significant relationship was for the mothers compared for the total sample. Mothers of dependent children were judged (by the analysts' global ratings) to engage in this type of treatment to a greater extent than were the mothers of competent children ($P < .05$), see Table 6).

Table 6 about here

Table 5

Comparisons Between the Parents of Competent and Dependent Children for Type I (as an Adult) Treatment

	Fathers of Dependent and Competent Children Compared	Mothers of Dependent and Competent Children Compared
Global Ratings by Analysts for		
First Twenty Families	3.446****[a]	3.943*****
df	26	38
Total Sample	1.526	3.926
df	48	66
Parental Questionnaire		
First Twenty Families	.762	.000
df	26	38
Total Sample	.670	.879
df	48	66

****$P < .005$
*****$P < .0005$

[a] Positive "t" values indicate that mean scores for mothers of dependent children are greater than those for mothers of competent children or that the mean score on the left was greater than that on the right.

Table 6

Comparisons Between the Parents of Competent and Dependent Children for Type II (as an Infant) Treatment

	Fathers of Dependent and Competent Children Compared	Mothers of Dependent of Competent Children Compared
Global Ratings by Analysts for		
First Twenty Families	-.000	-.852
df	26	38
Total Sample	-.859	1.646*
df	48	66
Parental Questionnaire		
First Twenty Families	-.570	.919
df	26	38
Total Sample	-.395	1.310
df	48	66

*$P < .05$

Type III Parent (Treating the Child as a Child). According to the tape analysts' global ratings both the mothers and fathers of the competent children were observed to treat their child more as a child than were the parents of dependent children for the first twenty families studied ($P < .010$ and $P < .025$ respectively, see Table 7). For the total sample this prediction held for the mothers ($P < .005$) but not for the fathers compared. Again, the Parental Questionnaire revealed no differences among parent groups compared.

Table 7 about here

Consistency Hypotheses

Three methods were developed for the assessment of parental consistency. These included:

1. A discrepancy measure representing the difference between the parents' philosophy of child rearing and their perceived nature or tendency to treat the child in a particular way.

2. A discrepancy measure representing the difference between what the parents' indicated they believed should be the prescribed way of treating children (philosophy) and the way they actually treated their child (their nature) derived from a modification of the Torgoff (1961) scale.

3. The consistency of parental treatment of the child as assessed by global judgments made from the interview tape by the analysts.

Discrepancy between the Parent's Philosophy and Nature. According to the hypothesis it was predicted that the parents of dependent

Table 7

Comparisons Between the Parents of Competent and Dependent Children for Type III (as a Child) Treatment

	Fathers of Dependent and Competent Children Compared	Mothers of Dependent of Competent Children Compared
Global Ratings by Analysts for		
First Twenty Families	-2.333**	-2.412***
df	26	38
Total Sample	-.479	-2.700****
df	48	66
Parental Questionnaire		
First Twenty Families	.917	1.579
df	26	38
Total Sample	1.077	1.192
df	48	66

**P < .025
***P < .010
****P < .005

children would be judged to reveal greater calculated discrepancies between their philosophies of child rearing and their tendencies to behave in a particular way toward the child (nature) inconsistent with that philosophy than would the parents of competent children. As predicted the mothers of dependent children were rated by global judgments by the tape analysts to be more discrepant in philosophy and nature than were the mothers of competent children for Types I and III treatment but not for the Type II variable (treating the child as an infant). ($P < .0005$, see Table 8).

Table 8 about here

For the fathers compared the Type I and III variables were significant as predicted ($P < .010$ and .05) while the Type II parental treatment was not significant.

Discrepancy between the Actual and Prescribed Treatment of the Child from the Modified Torgoff Scale. This hypothesis stated that parents of competent children would reveal greater consistency (or less discrepancy) between their reports for the age at which parents should and actually do begin to train their child for eighteen selected behavior patterns (see Appendices C_3 and C_4) than would the parents of dependent children.

For the mothers of the total sample and the first twenty families studied only one of the 36 possible predictions was significant ($P < .05$, see Table 9).

Table 9 about here

Table 8

The Discrepancy Between Philosophy and Nature for Global Ratings for the Three Types of Parental Treatment Rated by the Analysts for the Total Sample of Families

	Mothers[a]	Fathers[b]
Type I	3.154****	2.569***
Type II	-1.172	-.281
Type III	2.768****	1.734*

[a] N = 68, Mothers of dependent vs. mothers of competent children.
[b] N = 50, Fathers of dependent vs. fathers of competent children.

* $P < .05$
*** $P < .010$
**** $P < .005$

Table 9

Torgoff Should-Actual Discrepancies by Questions for Parents Compared

Should-Actual	Fathers		Mothers	
	First Twenty[a]	Total Sample[b]	First Twenty[c]	Total Sample[d]
1	1.055	.845	1.750[a]	1.310
2	2.587***[a]	-1.072	-.887	-.366
3	-.555[e]	.138	.361	.650
4	1.668*	1.923*	-.405	.923
5	-.024	.726	-1.213	1.091
6	-.000	-.191	.264	.892
7	1.895*	.834	-.417	.784
8	1.228	.646	.687	1.631
9	1.379	1.815*	.000	.185
10	.556	-1.432	.161	-.094
11	1.000	1.414	.293	-.097
12	.729	.336	-.000	.229
13	-1.032	-.979	-.174	-.093
14	.713	.909	-.088	.503
15	-1.009	-.299	.651	-.197
16	-.944	.296	1.310	1.558
17	.269	.156	1.165	.695
18	1.403	1.937*	-1.000	.319
Overall Discrepancy	1.161[f]	.632	.330	1.083

[a] N = 16
[b] N = 29
[c] N = 20
[d] N = 34
[e] Minus signs indicate that the discrepancy for the competent parents was greater than for the dependent parents
[f] Scores for subjects were derived by subtracting "actual" age from "should" age (see Appendices C3 and C4)
*P < .050
***P < .010

The distinguishing question was number one which stated, "Parents should (or actually do) begin to train their child to wash himself with no adult assistance," (the parent indicating the appropriate age in years). For the fathers there were six significant differences out of the 36 possible, three for the first twenty families compared (question #2, $P < .025$; question #4, $P < .05$; and question #7, $P < .05$); and three for the total sample (question #4, $P < .05$; question #9, $P < .05$ and question #18, $P < .05$) all of which were in the predicted direction.

Consistency Assessed by Global Judgments by the Analysts. This method for the assessment of parental consistency involved direct global ratings (not a calculated discrepancy score) for the perceived difference between the parent's philosophy and nature rather than a numerical discrepancy calculation. None of the predicted differences were significant for either the mothers or the fathers for either the _first twenty_ families or the _total_ sample of families studied (see Table 10).

Table 10 about here

Exploration of the Relationships Among the Specific Categories of Rated Behavior and the Global Judgments of the Child in the Nursery

The specific (elemental or atomistic) interaction behavior profile for each child was recorded on a matrix form (Appendix D) summarizing his interaction pattern with the other children. _A priori_ predictions (see Appendix E) for the relevance of each cell of the matrix to the child's dependence and competence were made by the three nursery observers who

Table 10

Comparisons Between Parents of Competent and Dependent Children for Global Ratings for Consistency

	Fathers of Dependent and Competent Children Compared	Mothers of Dependent and Competent Children Compared
Global Ratings by Analysts for		
First Twenty Families	.412	-1.610
df	26	38
Total Sample	.411	-1.517
df	48	66

*P .05

were maximally familiar with these traits in children of this age.

After the child had been observed for one hour total time, global ratings for the child's dependence and competence with peers, objects and adults were made (see Appendix B). In addition summary global ratings (called a global-global rating) were made for the child's overall competence and dependence.

The comparisons between the global and specific ratings of the childrens' behavior were made in an effort to test the observers' ability to specify the specific behavioral elements which might summate or interact to produce the global judgments. It is well known that efforts of this type have met with little success in the few isolated attempts to specify the constituent elements of global judgments. Global judgments are usually considered to involve a mysterious or intuitive process that defy analysis while specific elemental or atomistic sampling methods are considered to have some ad hoc validity (perhaps because one doesn't have to think, once he has learned the categories). It is this researchers contention that both data collection procedures involve highly trained and sensitive observers and that it might be possible to specify the constituent elements of the global judgment.

The procedure was to correlate the matrix (elemental) and global ratings for the children studied. Table 11 contains the matrix of these

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Table 11 about here

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correlation coefficients. The data used for these results was exclusively that obtained by this investigator rather than any other observer for several reasons. First this investigator personally collected the largest

Table 11

The Correlations Among This Investigator's Global Nursery Ratings and the Child's Grand Total Matrix Scores for Competence and Dependence[a]

	Variables Compared				
	Global Competence with Matrix Competence	Global Dependence with Matrix Dependence	Global Competence with Matrix Dependence	Global Dependence with Matrix Competence	Averages[b]
Peers	.461[c]**	.346**	-.080	-.488**	.344**
Objects	.507**	-.021	-.241*	-.325**	.274*
Adults	.539**	.142	-.258*	-.537**	.369**
Global-Global[d]	.486**	.249*	-.209*	-.593**	.384**
Averages	.489**	.179*	-.197*	-.485**	

[a] The grand total matrix score was derived by summing the scores for each of the three sub matrices.

[b] For these averages the signs for the Competence-Dependence and Dependence-Competence columns were reversed.

[c] df = 86 The number of children rated and scored by this investigator.

[d] Global-Global score = sum of global scores for competence and dependence with peers, objects, and adults.

*P .05

**P .01

sample of the data, and second, it was believed that, by virtue of this investigator's greater experience with the variables under investigation, there would be a closer association among his global and specific scores than for the scores of any other observer. This in fact proved to be the case although the data for the other observers is not presented in this abbreviated report.

In all cases in this table of correlations, the Grand-Total of the Sub-matrix scores (see Appendices E and F) were compared to the various global sub-scales (peers, objects, adults and overall or global-global). Competence by global ratings were compared with competence for matrix scores, dependence with dependence and the dependence with competence (see Table 11). The range of the correlation coefficients was from -.021 (for global dependence on adults compared with Grand-Total matrix dependence scores) to .593 (for the global-global dependence ratings compared with the Grand-Total matrix scores for competence - sign reversed). All the coefficients were in the expected direction except for the -.021 and this represents a nonsignificant correlation coefficient (not different from zero) rather than a reversal in expected trends. The averages for the Grand-Total matrix scores compared with the nursery global scores (with signs reversed) were as follows: global peers, $r = .344$ ($P < .01$); global objects, $r = .274$ ($P < .05$); global adults, $r = .369$ ($P < .01$); global-global, $r = .384$ ($P < .01$). The average correlation of the two measures of competence was .498 ($P < .01$), and for the two measures of dependence .179 ($P < .05$). Global competence correlated with matrix dependence -.197 ($P < .05$) on the average and global dependence with matrix competence -.485 ($P < .01$) (see Table 11).

Although the correspondences among the global and matrix scores were far from perfect, they were generally univocal (except for one out of sicteen results) and highly significant.

VII

Discussion

As was apparent from the preceding section there was strong support for both hypotheses. The results with respects to the separate hypotheses are discussed below.

Types of Parents

For the global judgments made by the analysts, it was predicted that the parents of competent children would be found to be less inclined to treat the child as an adult (Type I) or as an infant (Type II) than parents of dependent children and would be judged to treat the child more as a child (Type III) than were parents of dependent children. It was found that the hypotheses for Types I and III parental treatment were upheld, while the hypothesis for Type II parental treatment was not confirmed (see Tables 5, 6, and 7). Hypotheses for Types I and III treatment were especially well supported by the data for the mothers. It was also generally found, as was expected, that the data for the first twenty families supported the hypotheses to a greater degree than did the findings for the total sample of families studied.

By contrast, the Parental Questionnaire revealed no significant differences among the parents for the three parental types of treatment. This could have been due to poor instrument construction, too few items per scale, response sets of various types or for any of a number of other reasons (see Appendix C_2 for a more detailed discussion of this instrument's construction and possible limitations).

The fact that the three hypotheses were confirmed only by the global judgments and not the paper and pencil instruments, would normally present a substantial problem of interpretation, centering on the failure of the results to conform to the "ideal" multi-trait, multi-method configuration (see Campbell and Fiske, 1959). However, reasons were presented earlier (Section II) for distinguishing the global judgments as criterion data (based on direct observation) whereas validation of hypotheses by means of paper-pencil instruments was seen to depend on a questionable second-common-element type of assumption. More generally, also, there is some question as to whether the multi-trait, multi-method approach is even a practical ideal, since the question of what qualifies as "the same method" is unclear and the assumption that more than one "method" could provide comparable results has never been justified as a methodological principle or or even as a useful rule of thumb (Clapp, 1963).

As was noted in Section II, paper and pencil instruments were included in this study partly to provide the parents with a task during their first hour in the laboratory. More importantly the instruments were administered in an attempt to validate the tests employed. Administering these instruments to the parents and comparing them with known groups of dependend and competent children (to test theoretically relevant notions) provided a test of the predictive or empirical validity of the instruments.

Since the available assessment instruments had not received sufficient validation to justify complete reliance upon them, and in the absence of empirical, experimental or other validation (other than face validity) of the tests designed for this study, the decision was made to employ direct observational and tape and transcript judgments as the critical tests for the hypothesis. An even stronger argument for the emphasis upon the global judgments was their proximity to the criterion phenomena (observed bheavior).

Discounting the results for the Parental Questionnaire, the findings for the three Types of Parents indicated strong support for the hypotheses for Parental Types (adult treatment) and III (treating the child as a child) but very little confirmation for the Type II (infantile treatment) hypothesis. For the group of judges' ratings on which the test of the hypothesis for this study rested, the analysts, five out of six of the hypotheses were in the right direction and all were significant (P .005 for all comparisons).

The finding that the predictions for the Type II parental variable were not supported by the data represents a result of some special significance and interest to the support for this study generally. Although it was not predicted that the Type II variable would be the weakest finding for the study, this well could have been anticipated. The failure of this hypotheses can be explained in terms of the nature of the sample of parents who enrolled their children in the Boulder, Colorado nurseries. The parents who want to hold their child back or keep him at an infantile or dependent level would not be inclined to enroll their children in nursery schools. Rather, they would be expected to prefer to keep their child at home and, as a consequence, were simply not to be discovered by the procedures employed to select the children.

The fact that the results for the first twenty families were in most cases more powerful than the findings for the total sample indicated that those first twenty children chosen for this study were, as expected, better exemplars of the traits under investigation than were those last fourteen children studied. Had all the children been such clear cases it might have been reasonable to expect that the findings for the total sample would have been as powerful as for the first twenty families.

Here again, we note the importance to the researcher of knowing the subject population. To know the child is to know he possesses the traits being studied, in this case, competence or dependence. To have the trait is to do "enough of those sorts of things." Where the nursery observers were not so certain of the child's trait classification (as in the case of the last fourteen children) the results were expected to be and were found to be depressed in significance.

It is important, further, to note that this investigator used the conceptualization of trait presented by Ossorio (1966), Ossorio & Davis (1966), and Davis (1966), who conceive of a trait as a disposition. Operational definitions of traits that might tend to sacrifice the empirical essence and meaning of the concept were avoided.

In summary, the conceptualization of types of parents employed in this study was found to be related to the competence of the child, which is facilitated when the parents treat him as a child rather than as an adult. Treating the child as an adult (as opposed to treating him as a child) is something that is discernable to persons making judgments from tapes and transcripts of interviews with parents in the absence of facial and other important cues. From these findings, it seems safe to say that inappropriate or excessive dependence in children is related to being pushed too hard and too fast in the developmental learning process. The task remains to ascertain the extent to which this dependence persists into later years in these children. This, of course, necessitates the urgently needed longitudinal study of the development of these children (and of their parents treatment practices).

The implications from the findings for the hypothesized types of parents seem clear. First, it is clear that parents do have an effect upon the behavior of their children. Second, the effects parents have are of a subtle nature which is not readily noticeable to the casual observer but probably entail the clinical sensitivity of trained interviewers who have also had an opportunity to observe the child and his parents in interaction. Paper and pencil instruments and other cursory observations will not do as the literature in the child development area had already testified. Third, parents who are desirous of facilitating the development of the child's social and personal competence would be well advised to require of the child only those performances and achievements that are in line with this child's unique abilities, capacities and past achievements. The parent who observes failures in the child's performance in response to his ministrations must be sinsitive to the many and varied reasons for deficient performance. This entails a certain knowledge and awareness of the total socio-cultural context of the interactive process in view of the abilities of the child.

Parental Consistency

Parental consistency was tested in three different ways. The first two involved the calculation of discrepancy scores between two assessments of what could be referred to as the parents' philosophy of child rearing and their nature (or natural tendencies) to treat the child in a way different from what their philosophy would indicate. The second method involved a direct assessment of the consistency (or inconsistency) of the parents' treatment of the child. The advantages of the calculation of a discrepancy score from two independent assessments resides in the elimination of certain biases or halo effects inherent in single assessments of variables. The advantage of the direct assessment inheres in the possibility that consistency is a unique and independently observable phenomena which is something more than a subtractive (or additive) function of other variables.

Discrepancy between the Parent's Philosophy and Nature. It was found that the discrepancy between the parents' philosophy and nature was significant and in the predicted direction for both the mothers and fathers compared for treatment Type I (adult) and III (child). This was not true, however, for the Type II (as an infant) parental treatment. The fact that the direct assessment of the Type II (as an infant) treatment variable did not distinguish the parents of dependent and competent children could in part explain the fact that the discrepancy measure was not significant for this variable. It is more likely, however, that treating the child as an infant was not something the parents in this sample valued a great deal. As such they might be expected to be low in both philosophy and nature on this variable, tending to reduce the differences among the comparison groups. According to several interviewers' statements, the parents of the dependent (and competent) children were simply not concerned with being more (or less) infantilizing than they, in fact, were. Again, it is quite likely that the parents (if there are any) who desire to treat the child as an infant more (or less) than they do were, perhaps, excluded from the study by virtue of the selection process as was noted earlier (see Section V, methods and procedure)

Notwithstanding this one reversal for the hypothesis that parents of competent children would reveal fewer and smaller discrepancies between their "philosophies" and their "natures," the hypothesis was confirmed in large measure for this method of assessing the general inconsistency hypothesis.

Discrepancy Between the Actual and Prescribed Treatment of the Child. The second test for the philosophy versus nature hypothesis was the discrepancy between scores on the modified Torgoff (1961) Parental Developmental Timetable on which the parents revealed the discrepancy between their beliefs as to what the parents in general "should" do and what they, as parents, "actually" did with their child on eighteen child-rearing issues (see Appendices C_3 and C_4). The hypothesis for this assessment procedure was the same as for the discrepancy between philosophy and nature for the global ratings discussed above.

As was reported in the last section (Results), the differences for the eighteen questions were not significant for the mothers compared (see Table 9). However, fathers of dependent children (more than fathers of competent children) reported that they felt "parents should begin to teach their child that "crying is not the way to get what he wants" at a significantly later age than they actually did invoke this practice with their child. Fathers of dependent children (more than fathers of competent children) also felt "parents should begin to teach their child that taking something from others -- without his permission -- is wrong" at a later age than they *in fact* began to teach their child. The final area in which fathers of dependent children differed from fathers of competent children in their belief as to what *should* and was *actually* done, was for the question of the age at which they "begin to encourage their child to dress himself without help." Again the fathers of competent children indicated their philosophies (should) were more closely aligned to their *actual* practices (nature), than was the case with the fathers of dependent children.

Not only were the fathers of dependent children more discrepant in what they felt they *should* do and *actually* did with their child (as compared with fathers of competent children) but in all of the questions they indicated that they felt they should be more lenient (treat him less as an adult and more as a child) than they were in fact able to. The direction of the discrepancy lends further support to the earlier finding that fathers of dependent children treat their children more in an adult fashion (or are inclined to push their child) than do fathers of competent children. Thus, in addition to being "pushy" the fathers of dependent children were perhaps less happy or satisfied with their "pushiness." As noted earlier, they were also probably more inclined to feel guilty about their "pushiness." It is not unlikely that the guilt is associated with a tendency to expiate the guilt by "switching" their handling of the child to a more lenient treatment. However, this aspect of the hypothesis could not be tested explicitly by the selected methods and procedures. Nevertheless the conceptual links are clear and perhaps do not necessitate empirical confirmation. It seems clear that the dependent child is more apt to have parents who are perceived by him as capricious and unreliable than is the competent child. As discussed earlier in some detail (see Sections II and IV), the capricious nature of the environment and the uncertainty in the communication of concept labels in the dependent child's home could explain a part of the child's incompetence with peers and others and his coincident dependence upon adults. However, the number of significant findings (and their levels) for this measure of consistency were fewer than would occur by chance. As a result, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected on the basis of these data.

It is quite possible that the reason the data assessed by the modified Torgoff scales failed to support the hypothesis stemmed from the method of presentation of the stimulus materials. It will be recalled that the parents were asked to complete (essentially) the same form twice (compare Appendices C_3 and C_4). A number of parents indicated that they understood what the researchers were "trying to get at." As a consequence it is quite likely that a type of social desirability response set could have operated to eradicate some existing differences among the parents. The same criticism cannot be made of the philosophy versus nature discrepancy calculated by the first method using global discrepancy scores.

Consistency Measured by Global Judgments by the Analysts. This method for the assessment of the consistency hypotheses involved direct global judgments based on the tapes and transcripts of the interviews with the parents, rather than calculated discrepancy measures (as were employed in the philosophy versus nature and Torgoff should and actual discrepancy assessments for the same hypothesis). This directly observed parental consistency was one of the four parental variables evaluated by direct observation, probed in the interview and then rated by the tape analysts. The hypothesis for this method for the assessment of parental consistency was the same as for the other two measures, predicting that parents of competent children would be rated as more consistent than parents of dependent children. The data for this method for the assessment of parental consistency revealed no significant differences for either the groups of mothers or the fathers compared.

It will be recalled that the interjudge reliability coefficients for this variable were quite depressed. Although "low" interjudge reliability coefficients in the presence of valid hypothesized relationships may not be serious, one cannot exclude the reliability of the assessment of this variable as the possible reason for the failure of this hypothesis.

Summary of the Three Methods for the Assessment of Parental Consistency. From the data reported for the assessment of parental consistency it can be argued that consistency is a significant factor related to the facilitation and development of the child's dependence and competence, when measured by the discrepancy between the parents nature and philosophy concerning child rearing.

It does appear that the direct global judgment of consistency deserves some reconceptualization to ascertain the reasons for the low interjudge reliabilities obtained.

The modified Torgoff discrepancy measure appeared to have some merit. Although the significance of the obtained results could involve the operation of chance factors, the seven significant questions were nevertheless univocal in the predicted direction and supported the significant findings for the Type I parental treatment (as an adult) variable.

Parental consistency is not an entirely new variable in child research. Only the methods for its assessment in this study are especially novel. On the basis of the findings for this hypothesis generally, parents would be advised to be cautious in the adoption of novel, faddish philosophies of child rearing. Children need to know where they stand in the family relationship and what their role involves. More importantly, they need to be involved (in their more formative years) with adult carriers of the culture and psycholinguistic traditions, who are responding to them (and shaping their behavior, perhaps) in a natural way rather than according to some philosophical convictions. Only in this natural or uncontrived interaction can the child be expected to achieve the early,accurate use of the language in interaction with their peers and other adults. The child's competence with the use of his language is fundamental to his communication with and understanding of his peers -- a fundamental aspect of his developing competence in the world.

The child who has not learned to use concepts (e.g. hostility, aggression, love) accurately is, it appears from this study, doomed to a certain number of failure experiences which were reasoned to be associated with the later development of inappropriately or excessively dependent modes of interaction with others.

Exploration of the Relationships Among the Specific Categories of Rated Behavior and the Global Judgments of the Child in the Nursery. A major portion of this study was directed toward the investigation of the relationships among specific (elemental or atomistic) segments of behaviior related to the traits of dependence and competence in children and the global judgments of these traits. According to some interpretations of logical positivism via the Unity of Science movement in the early 1920's and 1930's and the now renounced (even by Bridgman) monster, operationism, specific elemental or atomistic assessments of behavior were believed to be preferred over global judgments. Minute pieces of behavior are, by the die-hard adherents to operationism, believed more basic and therefore more scientific because they are abbreviated segments of the complex context of behavioral interactions; while global judgments are decried as involving intuition, and mentalistic, and therefore, fuzzy and unscientific. Nevertheless the researcher periodically employs global judgments and finds these supportive of his hypothesized relationship, where the elemental (reductionistic) assessments of the behavior were not. In this study (see Sections II and V) it was argued that the study of human behavior must employ criterion phenomena (observed behavior in context). By that was meant, the researcher must not lose grasp of the behavior for which the concepts are used: as Wittgenstein (1953) reminds us, the meaning of the concept is its use. When we truncate, bifurcate, and dissect behavior with our unvalidated (and perhaps unvalidatable) paper and pencil instruments, and in our reductionistic set, look at smaller and smaller segments of behavior outside of their context of usage, it is possible that something is lost. Precisely what is lost was hoped to be discovered in this phase of the study.

From the fifteen categories of behavior, believed to encompass all possible stimulus and responses, 225 possible child-child interactions were generated. From these interaction possibilities, certain of the 225 cells of the child-child interaction matrix were, a priori, predicted to be related to the child's relative competence or dependence. From the pattern of interaction for a particular child, scores could be derived for his competence and dependence. These scores were, in turn, compared to the global judgments of these traits for the child by the nursery observers most familiar with the child.

The results of this comparison (correlation coefficients) were then analyzed for significance. The findings indicated generally that there were significant positive correlations among these global and elemental assessments. Although the correspondence was far from perfect, it was encouraging. While the data from the specific category ratings only tended to support the hypotheses, the global judgments supported the hypotheses in a far more conclusive fashion (see Results, Section VI).

The less significant predictive power of the specific or elemental assessments of the child's behavior, when compared to global judgments, would tend to indicate that the intuitive component (or whatever is involved in the global assessment) of the global judgments is essential to the validity of the assessment. It is nevertheless possible that a recombining of the elements (a new *a priori* matrix of prediction) to represent competence and dependence could bring the global and specific categories of behavior into closer alignment, producing higher correlations. This possibility is currently being explored at the University of Nevada and will be reported shortly.

It is however, not incomprehensible as Ryle (1949), Ossorio (1966), and others (Bambrough, 1960; Davis, 1966; Ossorio & Davis, 1966) have argued, that it may be impossible to find an operationistic substitute or counterpart for trained observers' global judgments (criterion phenomena). The validity of the assessment of psychological phenomena may indeed necessitate a trained observer, familiar with the relevant concepts, by virtue of the nature of the phenomena and the impossibility of specifying the precise criteria or elements common to the use of trait concepts (Bambrough, 1960). Nevertheless our efforts toward specifying more precisely what we are doing when we make global judgments must persist in the interest of science and discovery.

VIII

Summary and Conclusions

In this study two groups were drawn from a sample of 165 four-year-old boys after they had been studied by an episode sampling technique for patterned interactions with children, teachers and observers in eleven nurseries and preschools for at least sixty minutes over a period of months. Each of the boys was observed in interaction with his mother and father by three observers in a semi-structured laboratory setting. The parents were then interviewed while the child was again studied in laboratory interaction with a "child experimenter."

Six judgments for dependence and competence were made for the child while the parents were assessed by multiple methods on four variables. These variables included three "types" of parental treatment (treats child as an adult, as an infant or as a child), and three methods for assessing parental consistency.

The hypotheses were in large measure born out by the results for most of the observation based methods of assessment but were not supported when the parental variables were assessed by paper and pencil instruments. Specifically, it was found that the parents of competent children treated the child as a child, rather than as an adult, to a greater extent than did the parents of dependent children. The prediction of a greater tendency toward the infantilizing the child by parents of dependent children (when compared to the parents of competent children) was clearly not supported. The global direct assessment of consistency was not generally significant not was the Torgoff discrepancy measure for consistency. However, the parental consistency, as assessed by the discrepancy between global judgments for the parents' philosophy and nature, was supported indicating that the parents of dependent children were not doing (nature) what they thought they should (philosophy) to the extent the parents of competent children were.

A priori predictions for the child's dependence and competence (matrix scores) were derived from the child's specific "category" interaction with other children and compared with the global ratings made for the child in the nursery. It was found that, although the correlations between the two sets of measures for the child's competence and dependence were significant and in the predicted directions generally, they were not as high as was expected.

Explanations for the above cited findings for the differences among parents of dependent and competent children, the relationships among the matrix scores and global ratings for the child and other relevant methodological and procedural issues were discussed.

The next question that might be asked is why this study enjoyed the success it did in predicting theoretically meaningful relationships. It is difficult to point precisely to the one or two aspects of this study which made the difference in the results obtained when compared to the vast literature of research concerning these variables. The success of this study possibly could be attributed to the unique conceptualization of the variables, the experimental design, the major focus upon observation techniques (rather than paper and pencil instruments and other less direct methods) and, the implementation of a "pragmatic" methodology.

To the extent that the conceptualization and procedures employed followed from Ossorio's (1966) pragmatic framework, support is lent his "Concept of the Person" and its implicit methodological implications.

Parents are continuously approaching the developmental psychologist (as a presumed authority) to tell them how to handle their child. Parents are concerned whether they should be more or less permissive, firm, warm and so forth. On the basis of the findings from this study it would seem that these questions, while not unanswerable in an individual case, may be the wrong question for researchers to address in a general (normative) way. Nevertheless, on the basis of this study some tentative answers to these questions can be proffered. Parents could be advised to treat their child as a child and to do "enough of the right sorts of things" with and for that child. This means a parent should answer every question of restriction or giving additional permission in the currently important areas of sex education, the use of LSD and other drugs and so forth, from the point of view, "What is Johnny or Suzie really asking? Does he want sanction for what he's already decided to do but feels guilty about? Or does he want me to say 'No!' and if so why?" Before venturing even tentative answers to parent's questions or even discussing such issues with parents it seems essential to know well the personalities involved in the current family and extra family situation, within the prevailing social context (no mean accomplishment). That is, to say, the parent must know not only the child (the major focus for this study) but himself as well (a minor but important aspect of this study).

If a particular parent is not interested in or for other reasons unable to involve himself in the exploration of his child and his relationships to the child, the relationship and its members may suffer. If a parent feels he cannot control his interactions with his child he might be advised to seek personal counsel perhaps with a friend, a minister, a clinical psychologist or psychiatrist. However, most parents are competent in their interactions with their children. The norm for parents and children is competence. It is only the extreme cases which represent excessive or pathological dependence or incompetence.

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